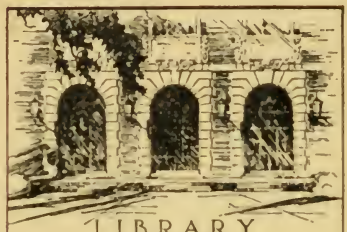

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A Farm House in the Genesee Country.

TRAVELS

IN SOME PARTS OF

NORTH AMERICA,

IN THE YEARS

1804, 1805, & 1806,

BY

ROBERT SUTCLIFE.

York:
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1811.

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PREFACE.

THE narrative and observations now presented to the public, were the fruits of a voyage undertaken solely with commercial views. They were written without any expectation of their being copied, and without the remotest thought of publication. But falling accidentally under the notice of the Editor, he was pleased with perusing them, and believed that, if printed, they would also be agreeable to many others. He accordingly communicated this idea to the writer, who, after considering the subject, with a proper degree of modesty, consented to the proposal.

If the reader should derive amusement or instruction from this work, he will naturally wish to know something respecting the author. He is the second son of the late Doctor Abraham Sutcliff, who practised, with much skill and reputation, as a physician, in Sheffield, and who died there about twelve years since. At Sheffield, the author, who

was born and educated in the religious Society of Friends, served his apprenticeship; and afterwards settled there in business as a merchant. In this line he continued for several years, and dealt extensively with transatlantic connexions; which, after some time, rendered it expedient for him to make two voyages to America, for the settlement of his affairs. The latter voyage and the travels subsequent to it, comprise the transactions which are now offered to the public.

In the year 1806, the author returned to England, and continued there till the year 1811; when he conceived that a residence in America, might prove more advantageous to him. He accordingly, with his wife and one daughter, the only surviving child of a very numerous family, embarked for New-York, in the sixth month last, with the view of settling in that country.

Whilst the author was in America, he had frequent intervals of leisure, which the nature of his mercantile concerns rendered unavoidable. Of some of these opportunities he availed himself, to visit his connexions and friends in various parts of the country: having also the view of gratifying his

curiosity, and enlarging the sphere of his information. Being a man of observation, of a strong memory and benevolent disposition, and having formed an extensive acquaintance with respectable persons in America, by whom he was treated with kindness and attention; he seems to have been qualified to render an account of his travels both pleasing and interesting. The Editor therefore ventures to presume, that many of the remarks and occurrences contained in this little volume, will prove useful as well as amusing to juvenile readers; and that they will not be destitute of information to persons of mature years. The narrative appears to be judicious, and is given with great simplicity; and the Editor has not the least doubt of its strict veracity. The anecdotes rise naturally from the subject, and are generally of a curious, novel, and instructive nature. They are numerous, and form a peculiar and striking feature of the work. On the whole, the Editor persuades himself, that these travels will not be unacceptable to the generality of readers.

9th Month, 1811.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE chasms which sometimes appear in the dates of these Travels, arise from a wish to avoid the repetition of engagements, or of circumstances similar to what have been already described; or from the respective periods, not furnishing any thing sufficiently interesting to meet the public eye.

The Prints which accompany the work, are taken from sketches drawn by the author himself, when on his travels.—As they were not executed in time for a description of them to be incorporated in the body of the work, it seems proper here to offer the following

EXPLANATION of the PLATES:

PLATE I.—FRONTISPIECE.

A Farm-House in the Genessee Country.

a. The stumps that remain of trees which have been girdled. This operation consists in taking off 2 or 3 inches of the bark all round the trees; in consequence of which they die and are blown down by the wind, leaving stumps remaining below the girdled part of the tree.

b. A Worm Fence. This construction, like the operation just described, is a proof of the little value of

timber in the parts where these fences are commonly found. It consists of piles of rough rails, the ends of which cross each other at irregular angles, as obtuse as the requisite stability of the fence will allow, forming a zig-zag line of division. The fence is supported at the angles by stakes driven into the ground, and fastened to the upper timbers or rails.

PLATE II.—*Page 76.*

American Friends going to Meeting in a settled Frost,

With their carriages placed on sledges, as described p. 70. This practice obtains not only in the beaten roads round the cities; but in country places also, as the plate exhibits.

PLATE III.—*Page 111.*

Friends Meeting-House at Merion,

With horses and carriages fastened to trees, &c. during the time of Meeting.

PLATE IV.—*Page 154.*

The Falls of Niagara.

To do full justice to this amazing cataract, would require a much larger plate than can be given in this little volume. If the reader consults the description and dimensions given at p. 154, &c. it will scarcely be needful to make further observation.

PLATE V.—*Page* 203.

An Indian Family on a Journey.

This plate may compensate for the omission of the anecdotes, which the author has alluded to, but not given, in page 203.

PLATE VI.—*Page* 265.

American Friends going to Meeting in Summer.

The open carriages described in this plate, are called waggons, and the best of them Jersey waggons. They are made very light, hung on springs with leather braces, and travel very pleasantly. They are covered at the top with canvas painted. On the sides there are three rows of curtains, and those in the outer row are likewise of canvas painted. Those of the middle row are made of linen, and the inside curtains are green baize. The season and weather regulate the use of them.

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TRAVELS

IN

NORTH AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

The author leaves home. Peak in Derbyshire—Manchester—Liverpool—Transactions before the voyage—Sets sail from that port.—Occurrences on the voyage.—Arrival at New-York.

*22d of the 5th * Month,* 1804.

AFTER having taken leave of my relations and friends in Sheffield, I left home with my wife and children. As our road lay through Castleton, we visited Peak's Hole, which was a great gratification

* To those who may not be accustomed to designate the Months by their numerical names, the following Table may be useful:

The 1st is commonly called	January
2d	February.
3d	March.
4th	April.
5th	May.
6th	June.
7th	July.
8th	August.
9th	September.
10th	October.
11th	November.
12th	December.

to the children, who had never before seen a natural curiosity of equal interest. The habitations within the cavern, with the manufactory of pack-thread that was carrying on there, had a very singular and striking effect, which had something in it more like a dream or a vision, than a transaction of real life. Yet I did not perceive on the countenances of those who were employed in this subterraneous abode, less appearance of being happy or cheerful, than we see upon the faces we meet in the crowded streets of towns and cities:—Such is the force of habit.

After taking some refreshment, we set out upon our next stage; and, believing it would be some relief to the horses, I walked up the Winyards, which, though a laborious walk, is far from being an unpleasant one. This is, perhaps, one of the most romantic roads in this country, on account of the steep and lofty mountains through which it winds its way; and, after having ascended the summit, a very different scenery is presented to the view: The most fruitful and populous part of the counties of Lancaster and Chester lying in full prospect before the eye of the traveller, presents something like the appearance of one vast city intermixed with fields and woods.

In the evening, we arrived safe at Manchester. There we were hospitably entertained at the house

of T. H. jun. and were kindly shown through his bleaching, dying, and printing works. We were also shown a beautiful collection of dryed specimens of herbs, flowers, &c. the production of Botany Bay. These he had received from an ingenious young man who had been transported into that country when but a boy, on a charge of pilfering; of which, I understood, it was generally believed he was innocent. His habits of industry and care did not forsake him, although thrown amongst such a set of companions as Botany Bay and a Transport Ship may be supposed to furnish; and, in a few years, he had acquired property to a considerable amount.

5th Month, 23d. Having concluded to take our passage in one of the packet-boats which go between Manchester and Warrington, T. H. kindly accommodated us with his sociable to the water-side. We got into the packet, and had a pleasant sail nearly to Warrington, where we dined, being about 18 miles. This is an easy mode of travelling both as to expense and fatigue; and when upon a canal like that of the Duke of Bridgewater's, and in such a country as that through which we sailed this day, the weather at the same time being fine and clear, it could scarcely be otherwise than very pleasant. In the evening we arrived at Liverpool, and took up our quarters at our cousin T. B.'s.

5th Month, 24th and 25th, were spent at Liverpool, in preparation for my intended voyage to America.

5th Month, 26th. Being the first day of the week, we attended the meetings at Liverpool, and spent the rest of the day at our cousin A. B.'s, at Mile-end, near Liverpool; where we had the company of Captain R. B. of the Romulus, an agreeable, consistent friend, from Hudson City, in the State of New-York.

5th Month, 27th. In the morning cousin T. B. kindly conducted me to the Lyceum; a splendid public establishment of the nature of a news-room or coffee-house, and library. Afterwards, accompanied by my wife and children, we paid a visit to the Asylum for the Blind; an institution well worthy the support of the wealthy, where many persons who have lost their sight, are instructed in various branches of business, by which they are enabled to pass their time usefully, and agreeably to themselves. After visiting this institution, we walked to the Botanic Garden. Our relation being a subscriber, had the priviledge of introducing us as strangers; and we spent a pleasant hour or two, having, in the compass of a few acres of land, an opportunity of seeing a vast variety of plants, flowers, shrubs, and trees, natives of every quarter of the world, alive and flourishing as in the countries from which they are brought. Amongst them I noticed the banana and the sugar cane.

After visiting these noble institutions, our feelings were harrowed by seeing an unfeeling press-gang dragging along a friendless poor man, whom they had just hunted down in the streets.

5th Month, 28th. This day I paid a visit to Captain N. on board his ship called the Laura; and, after some conversation with him and his agent, J. C. concluded to take my passage in her to New-York; for which I paid 35 guineas.

5th Month, 29th. In the afternoon of this day, I was requested by the Captain to be in readiness to go on board in the evening; accordingly, after taking leave of my wife, children, and hospitable relations, I went on board, accompanied by my fellow-passengers, who were J. W. jun. and J. L. both of Philadelphia; J. F. of Leeds, and W. W. of New Orleans. After sleeping that night on board, the wind proving contrary, and there being no appearance of a change, we all came on shore in the morning, and I returned to my wife and children. This was, I believe, an agreeable disappointment to all of us, as the prospect of so long a voyage, and the probability that we might never see each other more, on this side the grave, had sat rather heavily upon some of our minds at parting the evening before; and now, to have almost a certainty of spending another day with my wife,

children, and near relatives, seemed to me a privilege almost invaluable.

5th Month, 30th. I spent this day with my wife and children, in the family of my kind relatives; and so pleasant it was to me, that it was like the addition of one day to my being in the world.

5th Month, 31st. This morning my wife and children, with part of cousin B.'s family, and M. M. of Rochdale, accompanied me on board the Laura, then lying about a mile from Liverpool, near the Cheshire shore. As our boat passed by the Princess, a ship of war, then lying in the Mersey, we were a little entertained by the ship's crew being ordered to man the rigging, just as we were alongside of them. In a few moments after the word of command was given, the shrowds of every mast appeared covered with seamen, from the deck to the heads of the masts; having the appearance of three lofty pyramids; each beginning with a file of men at the bottom, and finishing at the top with a single individual. After spending about an hour, and taking some refreshment on board the Laura, we all returned safe to Liverpool, where I slept this night.

1st of 6th Month, 1804. The wind becoming more favourable, we received orders to be ready to go on board again in the evening; so I again took leave of my wife and children; but as I had

before to return on shore, and the winds continued variable, there was a probability that I might have to return to them again in the morning. These circumstances took away a little of the edge of our anxiety at parting, and rendered it not quite so formidable as our first taking leave on the 29th ult. My cousin T. B. and W. B. accompanied us to the water-side, where a boat was waiting for us. We got safe to the vessel, which lay at anchor the whole of this night. The next morning, being 6th Month, 2d, as the seamen were raising the anchor, we were visited by R. B. who kindly came at six o'clock in the morning to inquire after our welfare. What little wind we had was favourable; and it being a clear and beautiful summer's day, the town of Liverpool, and country on both sides the Mersey, appeared to great advantage as we sailed down the river.

After passing a little way into the Irish Channel our Captain sent away the Pilot. On the Pilot's leaving our ship, the Captain requested that when he got to his own vessel he would not present our seamen with a bottle of spirits as was commonly done in such cases, alleging that his men were already so intoxicated they were scarcely able to work the ship. This circumstance, though seemingly of small importance, had nearly been of serious consequence to us; and, for a time, there seemed some danger of a mutiny amongst the

men. Such was the sourness which it produced, that, during the whole voyage, they sullenly refused the customary allowance from the Captain, of a bottle of brandy at the end of every week; and, at one time, a ringleader in the business, who had formerly served on board a ship of war, broke out into very abusive language to the Captain, and treated him in such a manner that there was some danger of the Captain firing his pistol at him. I was sorry to find that this man had been favoured with an education in our Society; and that his mother was a valuable friend. Notwithstanding his bad conduct towards the Captain, he always behaved with kindness and attention to me whenever I came in his way, and when I spoke to him, which I did, several times, endeavouring to convince him of the impropriety of his conduct, in thus doing his utmost to break in upon that subordination which was necessary to be maintained in every ship.

After the pilot had left us, we proceeded along the Welch coast, having the mountains of North Wales in full view during the whole of the day. The weather being calm and clear, it is scarcely in the power of words to describe the grandeur of the prospect, which indeed was such that we could hardly regret the slow progress we made. In the afternoon, when opposite one of the highest mountains, we were alarmed by

the noise of a heavy discharge of cannon, from one or two vessels which were some distance a-head of us. At first we supposed it to be an engagement between an English and a French privateer; but, on coming nearer, we had reason to believe they were two slave ships, which had left Liverpool a little before us, and had taken the opportunity of scaling their great guns, and exercising their men, when in a situation that would produce the greatest echo and noise; a disposition very prevalent in the world.

The night coming on, the beautiful and romantic Welch scenery was hid from us, and, next morning, having made but little progress during the night, we found ourselves nearly opposite to Holyhead. Having been favoured with a smooth sea, we escaped sickness, and sat down to breakfast with some appetite. Before we rose from table, a ship that was coming up the Channel, put out her boat and made a signal to speak with us. Our vessel was accordingly managed in a way to put them to as little trouble as possible; and they soon reached us. On their coming on board, we found the ship was the Liverpool, from New-York to Liverpool; and the Captain being an old acquaintance of the Master of our ship, they were rejoiced to see each other. After an exchange of intelligence and news papers, we parted from her, and sailed slowly round the head of Holy-head, and soon had

a fine prospect of Caernarvon Bay; but before the evening closed, the sky was overcast, and the wind got up, so that we were under the necessity of taking in a great part of our sails; and several of us began to be very sick.

In the course of the night, which was very dark, the wind became contrary; and it was with great difficulty we got through the narrow part of the Channel, near St. David's Head, without fairly putting back towards Liverpool. The passage was not accomplished, without several times tacking from one coast to the other; and, could I have had the management, I would gladly have put the ship into Milford Haven, and did advise the Captain to do it. However, we had cause to be thankful that we got well out of this narrow sea, although not without imminent danger of losing our cabin-boy, who was washed overboard as he was carrying the knives and forks from the caboose to the cabin; but, in passing through the railing, he got entangled amongst some ropes which hung from the rail, and was thus providentially preserved. Nearly our whole stock of table knives and forks were lost, which was a great inconveniency to us, especially being just at the commencement of our voyage; however I did not regret the loss of the knives and forks, seeing the boy's life was preserved. This accident made so strong an impression upon the poor lad, that he never recovered his spirits during the voyage.

Our first mate being an active man, made us a few table forks from an old barrel hoop, using the anchor as an anvil. These, with our pocket-knives, served as a substitute for those we had lost. This little occurrence manifests the propriety of passengers providing themselves each with an extra knife and fork.

About two days after this, we got clear of both the English and Irish coast, and made a rapid progress on our way across the Atlantic. There seemed every probability of our being favoured with a short passage; but, in a voyage at sea, as in the voyage of life, it often happens that our prospects are not realized.

After about two weeks of fair wind in the general, we began to experience hard gales, and from unfavourable quarters; so that for a week or ten days, we made but little way. The patience of our Captain being a good deal tried, and his temper somewhat soured, he was liable to use harsh language to his people, and particularly to a black man who was steward of the ship. On one occasion, the ship had laid to for several hours, not being able to carry any sail, excepting a single one to steady her. In this state she was left to drift before the wind, which was then, to use the Captain's expression, blowing a hurricane, and she was of course a good deal agitated. The waves, according

to the seamen's phrase, were running mountains high. It happened, under these circumstances, that one of the passengers, by a sudden roll of the vessel, was near being thrown down the stairs into the cabin; but, catching hold of the mahogany hand rail, he saved himself at the expense of breaking the rail. This the Captain did not observe till night when we were all seated in the cabin. Then he fell upon the poor black man, with violent and abusive language, charging him with breaking the rail. After his passion was somewhat subsided, I told him that I was a witness that the black man was innocent of what he had charged him with; that, considering the kind of day we had passed over, there was great cause to be thankful no other damage had been sustained than the breaking of the hand rail, and that, so far from giving way passion at trifling things in such a time as this, our minds ought rather to be impressed with gratitude, that we had been providentially preserved through the storm.

At first, the Captain seemed offended at my freedom, and turned from me in displeasure. Nothing more was said at that time; however, after we were all in bed, and the passengers mostly asleep, he called to me, and, on my answering him, he said, that he was convinced of the justice of my observations; was obliged to me for the hints I had dropped, and that he was sorry for his having

given way to passion, when far other sentiments ought to have possessed his mind. This acknowledgement was ingenuous on the part of the Captain; and I believe he slept no worse for it.

In the course of the day, when the weather had cleared up, altho' the wind still blew very hard, and the waves were rolling along in awful grandeur; while the ship was yet lying to and drifting before the wind, the other passengers and myself went upon the upper part of the quarter deck, that we might have a full view of the sea when thus agitated, and appearing in all its majesty. There is something in such a scene exceedingly humiliating. The most powerful of men, when thus baffled, and riding on the waves, every moment in danger of being swallowed up, are indeed but "as the small dust of the balance." Every sensible mind, when placed in situations like these, must be alive to the sentiment which that expression conveys. As we thus stood admiring how every wave, after rolling along in majestic greatness, seemed to break at our feet before it reached the ship, the first mate, who was on the watch, called out aloud, for every one to take care of himself. Observing that he ran and placed himself under the quarter boards, near one of the stansions, I immediately followed his example, and, taking fast hold of the ropes, sat down by him; which I had scarcely done before one

of these huge waves rolled completely over the ship; and we were, for a short time, overwhelmed by it. Such was the force with which it struck the ship, that she reeled to the other side, and really trembled under the stroke. One of the passengers having his back towards it, and not hearing the mate's warning, was struck down with so much violence, and precipitated to the other side of the vessel with so much force, that his head, striking against one of the quarter boards, broke the board in pieces; and a pair of cloth pantaloons which he held in his hands at the time were washed overboard. Indeed we had great cause to be thankful to Divine Providence, that we escaped without further loss or damage; and it was matter of admiration to me, that, whilst buried in the wave, my mind was preserved from any considerable fear or anxiety as to the consequences.

At this time, we were, I believe, in the gulf stream; for as the water passed over us it felt as warm as new milk. The ship reeled so much to one side, at the stroke of the sea, that we had a second immersion as she righted, after recovering from the shock. As it had blown a hard gale all the preceding night, the ocean was become so very rough pretty early in the morning, that a heavy sea broke through the cabin windows, and rolled into the beds on one side of the ship; which occasioned a great alarm; and I have seldom seen men rise more quickly from their beds than our companions

did on that side of the cabin. A little time after the storm had subsided, and the sea was become calm, we were entertained with the sight of a number of flying fish, which, from time to time, continued to rise out of the sea, and after taking short flights, dropped again into the water. These flying fish appeared to be pursued by a number of dolphins, which, for a considerable time, kept company with the ship, so as to give us a full opportunity of observing their beautiful colours, continually changing to the various tints of azure, green and gold. The gold fishes, which we see confined in glass jars, are very beautiful; but not at all to be compared with the dolphin, which is, besides, a much larger fish; generally weighing 8 or 10 pounds. Our seamen caught several of them, and we found them very good eating. Although the colours of the dolphin are exceedingly beautiful while alive and in motion in the sea, yet they are still more extraordinary when the fish is taken out of the water, and is in the agonies of death; displaying then, every colour of the rainbow, changing in rapid succession as long as life remains. As the dolphins were in pursuit of the flying fish, so the dolphins in their turn were pursued by the sharks; and such is the activity of these voracious animals in seizing their prey, that, whilst one of our people was dragging up a dolphin, as quickly as he possibly could, a huge shark put up his monstrous jaws and snatched the fish from the hook.

The voracious shark also had his enemies; for the sailors, by throwing out pieces of meat, enticed him to come so near the ship, that one of the company who stood upon the main-chains had an opportunity of casting the noose of a strong rope over his head; and the other end of the rope being passed through a block, he was quickly hoisted upon deck, where he lay some time striking the boards with his tail with great violence. It was curious to see the agitation of the little pilot fishes, which accompanied the shark; and when he was dragged out of the water, they seemed to use their best endeavours to follow him.

The pilot fish is something like the mackerel; but of a smaller size. On the shark's being thrown upon the deck, several sucking fish fell from him about 8 or 10 inches in length. These fishes, I should suppose, are a considerable annoyance to the shark, sticking close to various parts of his body like a leech. The Captain not being willing that he should be killed, on account of the dirt and disagreeable smell that he would make; and the sailors not being willing that he should escape punishment, wantonly tied a piece of wood about the size of a common oar to his tail, and then hoisted him again and let him into the sea. Notwithstanding he had been out of the water more than a quarter of an hour, the moment he reached the sea, he dived into the deep with the incumbrance at his tail,

apparently with the greatest ease, and was out of sight in a few seconds.

Of the various kinds of fishes we saw on our passage, porpoises were the most common. They are large, weighing from 20 to 30 stone; yet we frequently saw large shoals of them extending as far as the eye could reach, and all driving along in one direction; frequently leaping quite out of the water, and often passing close by the ship, so as to afford the sailors an opportunity of striking them with the harpoon and dragging them on board. Some of the people, I observed, were partial to the heart and liver of this fish when fried, asserting that they were scarcely to be distinguished from those of a hog when dressed in the same way. At one time we were entertained by the sight of several whales, five of which passed close to the ship, sporting and rolling along within a few yards of us; making a loud noise in snorting and spouting up the water from a hole in their foreheads. These creatures were of large bulk, and appeared exceedingly fat and sleek; their skins shining as if varnished.

Although there does not appear any place of rest for fowls in the wide ocean, yet numbers of them are daily seen riding like pieces of cork on the loftiest waves, and in the most tempestuous

weather. These are mostly of the petrel tribe, although sea-gulls are often seen at a great distance from land, especially on the banks of Newfoundland and in approaching them.

In passing these banks it is wonderful to see the thick fog which generally prevails, so that, in a morning, the rigging and sails of the ship would be dripping wet, as though they had been in a heavy shower during the night. In addition, the weather was so cold that it was very uncomfortable to be without fire, although it was the middle of summer, and we were many degrees more to the southward than England. These heavy fogs, when seen at a distance had many times much the appearance of land; and about the time of the setting sun, they presented a great variety of appearances. Sometimes we might imagine we had the sight of a splendid city, with towers, domes, and steeples, rising before us; and, in a while, the whole would entirely vanish, and leave nothing to be seen but the wide extended ocean, bounded by the horizon.

Being detained nearly two weeks in the gulf stream, by light and contrary winds, our Captain began to be anxious about the provisions and water, in consequence of which he put the men upon their allowance of beef and pork, which were now handed to them by weight; and we ourselves were prohibited the use of fresh water, in washing our

hands and faces, and were obliged to use the sea water, which is far from being pleasant. Besides, having had a considerable loss by the breakage of ale and porter bottles, owing to their having been put up when the liquor was new, the passengers and officers of the ship were obliged to submit to a certain allowance of these articles; and we now began to be more frugal of our fresh provisions than heretofore.

While our time was thus passing on in the gulf stream, we were under some apprehensions of being carried out of our course by the current; and the sea being often as smooth as a fish-pond, we occasionally hoisted out the boat, and taking an iron pot, let it down into the sea, by which means the direction of the current was ascertained. Some of us were at the trouble of sealing up a bottle, inclosing a paper containing the latitude and longitude; and, adding our names and places of abode, we requested that the person who might pick it up would inform any of the parties. Although we had no great expectation of hearing more of this bottle after it was thrown into the sea, yet I had not been long in America before the paper was handed to me, having been picked up on the sands near Newport, in Rhode Island. Thus, contrary to the received opinion respecting the current of the gulf stream, it had been carried in a north-westerly direction. There seemed no

way of accounting for this circumstance, but by supposing that the action of the wind had made the bottle deviate from the course of the stream.

Having considerable time on our hands, we amused ourselves in little experiments of this sort. Several times we sunk well-corked empty bottles to a considerable depth into the sea; and although great care was taken to have the corks tight and sealed, yet it was invariably the case, when drawn up again, that the corks were found pushed into the bottles, or that the bottles had filled with water by its passing through the pores of the cork. I have already observed that the water in the gulf stream was warm as new milk; but on sinking a thermometer some depth in the sea, and hastily drawing it up again, we found that the water below was as cold as in any other part.

After a tedious time spent in the gulf stream, we at length arrived on the coast of North America; and on 1st day morning, the 29th of the 7th Month, we were favoured with the sight of Long Island. A little after noon, we ran close in shore, so much so that the ship was hastily put about, or she would have touched the bottom in a few minutes; for, in turning round, she raked up the mud so much as to discolour the water to a considerable degree: however we were soon in deep water again. Thus, after having been for 8 weeks

at sea, where the eye had been almost wearied with a continued sameness of prospects, and after having had, for several hours, the delightful prospect of farm-houses and plantations, we again launched into the wide ocean. To be thus snatched from green fields and woods, and cheerful habitations, was a trial of patience to some of our companions; and, all the afternoon, I noticed an anxious looking towards the land, in most of us.

The next morning, about four o'clock, 7th Month, 30th, I was waked by the report of a great gun, which was followed by considerable bustle upon deck. After getting up, I understood that a shot had been fired over us by an English frigate, called the Boston, which, in company with the Leander and Cambrian men of war, and Driver sloop of war, was then cruizing near us; and as the cannon-ball that was fired over us, was an earnest of what we might expect if we did not stop to receive an officer from the frigate, the topsails were immediately backed, and we shortened sail that they might have an opportunity of coming to us. A Lieutenant and Midshipman were sent on board. After spending about half an hour in conversation with us, and exchanging intelligence and newspapers, they left the ship; and, at parting, observed that they believed all our seamen were Citizens of the United States, and therefore did not wish to examine them; but

that they hoped we would not hoist our sails until we had a signal from the frigate; which was complied with.

We were now again in sight of land, being near Sandyhook. Having a fine view of the Jersey Mountains, and it being a clear summer's morning, the country before us appeared exceedingly beautiful. In approaching the shore we observed an appearance not less beautiful in what I believe is called a land-loom. The whole country appeared to be reflected in the atmosphere; something like what we see from the banks of rivers, when objects are reflected in the water. But here, instead of the images appearing in the water united at bottom to the objects, they were all reflected in the air, with their tops downwards; and each reflection seeming to touch the *top* of the object reflected.

The different ships of war, which I have just mentioned, made a very gay appearance; for the weather being fine and clear, and but little wind, they had most of their sails spread, and continued sailing to and fro before Sandyhook; the Never-sink Mountains being in the back ground. Their object was to watch two French frigates then lying in New-York, as the Lieutenant of the Boston informed us, and, at the same time, to examine all American ships in order to discover if there were any of the subjects of Great Britain

serving on board, with a view to impress them. It appeared to be an arduous and delicate situation in which the Commander of these ships was placed. Having to fulfil the orders of his Government on the one hand, and being in danger of giving offence to the Americans on the other, it seemed impossible for him to steer clear, unless possessed of a very uncommon share of prudence and discretion.

In sailing up to New-York, we passed by the two French frigates, called the Didon and the Sybille. They appeared to be very full of men. Soon after four o'clock in the afternoon, we arrived at that city; and on coming along-side the wharf, we were handed on shore by J. W. who kindly conducted us to our quarters, and we were soon after joined by A. B. who drank tea and spent the evening with us. Thus, after a passage of 58 days, we were favoured to land safe in America, for which we have abundant cause to be thankful. In passing through the streets to our lodgings, I was struck with the great variety of fruit exposed for sale; such as pine-apples, melons of various kinds, peaches, &c. &c. Melons and pine-apples I bought for 3d. or 4d. each, and other fruit in proportion. On going to bed this evening, I found that after being so long habituated to the motion of the ship, I could get scarcely any sleep.

CHAPTER II.

New-York.—Philadelphia.—Account of the Mammoth.—Norris Town.—Spring Mill Ferry.—Philadelphia.—Burlington—Amboy.—New-York.—Baltimore, Washington.—Alexandria.

7th Month, 31st, 1804. This morning I was conducted by my companions to one of the Public Baths kept in the city of New-York. These Baths are upon a plan I had not seen before. On each side of a long and spacious passage, is a range of small rooms, in each of which is a Bath sufficient to accommodate one person; with suitable conveniences for dressing and undressing. On the side of each Bath are two brass cocks, the one furnishing warm and the other cold water; so that the bather may have the water at what temperature he pleases. There is also a valve, by means of which, if there is more water than is pleasant, he may let part of it out. Some of these Baths are made of white marble; and are so constructed that a person may lie down or sit in them. So grateful it is to remain a considerable time in them, in the warm season of the year, that it is a common practice for bathers to take books with them to read while they thus indulge themselves in the Bath. There are also Baths in a different part of the house set apart for females.

After spending a little time at the Bath, we returned to breakfast. On sitting down to it, I could not avoid noticing the difference there was betwixt an American and an English breakfast table; and I took out my pencil and put down the different articles that were on the table before me, which were intended for four persons only. The articles were as follows:—coffee and tea, with rolls, and bread and butter, broiled fish, veal cutlets, hung beef, boiled eggs, a small species of lobster, radishes, and black-berries. The butter brought upon the table, had a piece of ice placed upon it, which is a general practice in this country, during the summer. This keeps the butter as cool and hard as in winter. Most of this day was spent in passing our luggage through the custom-house; and, it is but justice to the revenue officers in this country to notice, that they are very obliging in their behaviour; and, being allowed handsome salaries, they are not in the practice of taking fees or bribes.

8th Month, 1*st*. Being invited by F. T. I accompanied him to his country-house, about two miles above New-York, on the East River, where I spent the evening and slept. Being in the heat of summer, and near the tide waters, I was considerably annoyed with musquitoes. I returned with F. T. to New-York the next morning, and,

after attending the monthly meeting there, dined at J. B.'s. The next day I set out in the mail stage for Philadelphia, in company with J. L. and J. F. On our way, we dined at Newark, at Archibald Gifford's Tavern, and reached Prince Town to supper. The country we passed through was pleasantly diversified with hill and dale; and the luxuriant appearance of the fields of Indian corn, had a very striking effect upon one who has not been much out of England. The situations and appearances of Newark and Prince Town, are particularly beautiful. But it was quite dark before we reached Trenton, so that our coachman was unable to see his way, in driving into the ferry-boat; and the wheels on one side of the carriage passing into the boat whilst those on the other side went into the Delaware, we narrowly escaped a plunge into the water. The passengers usually keep their seats in the carriage while it is ferried over the rivers in this country; and, in general, the horses are so well trained, that they are driven in and out of the boats without any difficulty. On finding ourselves in this perilous situation, we all got out of the carriage into the boat as well as we could; which was no very easy task, as it was quite dark, and we were without lamp or candle. The driver putting back his horses, got clear of the boat, and in his second attempt drove fairly into it, and we crossed the river without further accident.

The next morning, the 4th of 8th Month, we got safe to Philadelphia to breakfast. Here I met with my brother J. S. and cousin T. W. whom I accompanied to S. B.'s, in Arch-street, where I took up my lodgings. The streets of Philadelphia all run parallel, or cross each other at right angles, and many of them are planted with a row of trees on each side. In walking along them, I was a good deal entertained with the loud, and almost incessant chirping which is heard from the trees in the evening, after sun-set; and which I understood was chiefly occasioned by the tree frog. This species of frog makes its abode amongst the branches of the trees, and makes a very considerable noise in the evening.

8th Month, 5th. I attended the North Division monthly meeting; and, being kindly invited, I dined and drank tea at J. W.'s, where I met with R. J.—M. R.—S. S. and T. S. The company of so many friends, whom I had seen and known in England, was very pleasant.

On the 6th of the 8th Month, I attended the quarterly meeting for Philadelphia, which, though one of the largest in America, did not continue more than one hour and a half, there being but little business before it, besides answering the queries. As this was likely to be a very abundant

fruit year, and many friends had large orchards, some individuals very pressingly cautioned them against suffering their cyder to be distilled. The concern of friends, in this country, against the frequent use of spirituous liquors in their families, is very great; and probably it is not without just cause. The trouble attendant on brewing and preserving malt liquor in warm climates is great; and, on the contrary, spirituous liquors are preserved with so little difficulty, in so little room, and at so easy an expense, that most families, especially in the country, give them the preference as a common beverage throughout the year, when diluted with water. It is not from cyder alone they procure spirits. Large quantities are also distilled from the juice of peaches. This is called peach brandy, and possesses a peculiar flavour and colour, obtained from the kernels. The general price of brandies of these kinds is about 2s. 6d. to 3s. 6d. sterling per gallon; and they are, when kept an equal age, but little inferior to French brandy. After the quarterly meeting, I dined with T. S.'s family, being invited by him; and, after dinner, took a walk with him through his tan-yard. I observed that they did not confine themselves to oak bark; but made use of bark from other trees also, the particular kinds of which I do not recollect; but I think a species of pine, and the walnut are of the number.

8th Month, 7th. In the afternoon I accompanied some friends to take a view of the skeleton of a Mammoth, which was carefully put together and set up in a convenient room in the city. When clothed with flesh, this animal must have been of enormous bulk. The tusks were upwards of six feet in length, and the leg bones appeared about the thickness of the waist of a middle-sized person. In comparing the bones of this animal with those of an elephant, a considerable difference is observed, particularly about the feet; those of the Mammoth resembling the feet of a beast of prey more than the elephant, appearing to be armed with sharp claws. One of the claws, about eight inches in length, which was found near the skeleton, I had in my hands. An animal of such bulk, so armed, must have been very destructive to the creatures around him. The Indians have a tradition, that on this account the Great Spirit directed that the whole species should become extinct. Near the banks of the large rivers in this country, and generally near the salt springs, the bones of these animals are found. In the inland parts of America all kinds of cattle are excessively fond of salt, and, as in other parts of the world, there are here many springs whose waters are brackish. Contiguous to these springs, the clay and earth, over which the waters have run, are impregnated with salt; and to these places, all kinds of wild cattle frequently resort, and are seen licking the earth with great eagerness.

These places are called Salt Licks, by the inhabitants, and, on the banks of the Ohio, is a place of this sort, called the Bigbone Lick, on account of the great numbers of Mammoth bones which are found buried in its vicinity. From this it seems as if these enormous creatures stationed themselves near the salt springs, that they might make a prey of the animals which resorted to them; and, it is very probable, that the old Mammoths, in particular, might station themselves in places like these, where, at last, they would die of old age.

The 8th and 9th were spent in Philadelphia. The next day, accompanied by my brother J. S. and T. W. I paid a visit to a relation at his estate above Norristown, being about 20 miles from Philadelphia. This plantation, consists of 300 acres of good land, 200 of which are cleared, and 100 covered with wood. The wood land is the most valuable, being so convenient for the Philadelphia carpenters, &c. On the estate is a well finished square stone house, about 15 yards in length, with a wide boarded floor piazza, both in back and front. These afford excellent accommodation during the summer season, which continues much longer, and in general is much warmer here than in England; as, in these piazzas, they frequently take tea and spend their evenings. Besides the dwelling-house there is an excellent kitchen, and offices adjoining; with a large barn,

and stables sufficient to accommodate 40 horses and cows; all well built of stone. The estate extends the whole breadth betwixt the Schuilkill and Perkiomy. On the former river there is a Shad Fishery which is of considerable value; and, if prosecuted with spirit, might supply many families with fish for the whole year. The house is so situated that it commands one of the finest prospects in Pennsylvania, and, being on a rising ground, is dry and healthy. The whole together forms one of the most beautiful spots I have seen in the United States. This estate, with all its appendages, cost about 3600*l.* sterling, which is but 12*l.* per acre, the buildings included. There is also an excellent orchard of about 10 acres planted with the choicest fruit-trees, which are just in their prime.

This plantation was formerly in the possession of a friend from London, of the name of Vaux, who built the house and made the improvements upon it. When he resided there with his family, during the American war, being in full view of the great American encampment at Valley Forge, and on the opposite side of the river Schuilkill, he had frequently the company of General Howe, and the other British Commanders. One day it happened that he had Howe to breakfast and Washington to tea; and being a friend who wished well to all men, he made no distinction between the contending parties, but left his house open to

all. This was the general practice of friends during the war, particularly with those who stood true to the principles of their profession: and this proved the best policy; for although attended with some loss of provisions at the time, yet they were generally preserved from any serious suffering in their persons, by their hospitable conduct.

8th Month, 12th. This being the 1st day of the week, our relation conducted us to Providence meeting, a few miles distant from his house. After meeting we were kindly invited to dinner, by a friend who was a stranger to us. We felt and acknowledged his kindness, but returned with our relation, in whose family we spent the remainder of the day. Notwithstanding this was the hottest season of the year, we had a very liberal supply of ice upon the table; which I found my relation had the means of procuring without trouble or expence to himself. Amongst the buildings in his purchase was an ice-house, which, every winter, is replenished by some of his neighbours, for the privilege of supplying themselves in the summer. I noticed that the two female servants employed in the family, had, both of them, been lately hired from on board a vessel lying in the Delaware; and which had recently arrived from Amsterdam with several hundred Germans, men, women, and children, of that description of people called, in America, Redemptioners. These are people in low circum-

stances, who, being desirous of settling in America, and not having money to pay their passage, agree with the American Captains of vessels to be taken over on condition of hiring for a term of years, on their arrival in America, to masters who are willing to advance 10 or 12 guineas to be deducted out of their wages; and it not unfrequently happens that they agree to serve two, three, or four years for meat and clothes only, on condition of their passage being paid. Yet, as wages, in the general, are rather high in America, it will easily be supposed that an active clever person, conversant in some business, will make much better terms on landing, than the old and infirm; or than those who come over ignorant of any business.

The two female servants I have just mentioned were both widows; and one of them had two children with her in the family, who were quite young. This woman had lost her husband about the time of their arrival on the American coast; and the husband of the other, being a sea-faring man belonging to Holland, had, as I understood, lost his life and property by an English ship of war. Although these two females had obtained a settlement in a country enjoying many privileges beyond that which they had left; yet, I think, no feeling mind could behold them thus circumstanced, placed amongst strangers of whose language they were almost wholly ignorant; and habituated to

customs very different from those to which they had now to conform, without sensations of compassion; and it was very pleasant to me to observe that the general deportment of my relations towards them was respectful.

I noticed many families, particularly in Pennsylvania, of great respectability both in our Society and amongst others, who had themselves come over to this country as Redemptioners; or were the children of such. And it is remarkable, that the German residents in this country, have a character for greater industry and stability than those of any other nation.

In the plantation adjoining to my relation's, we visited a lead mine on the banks of the Perkiomin, which was then worked by a Frenchman. He invited us to go down into it, where, at the depth of about 12 feet, I saw a vein of lead ore 18 inches in thickness; and as it is wrought at a very easy expense, there was a great probability of its being a very valuable acquisition. But these things, like many others in the world, have the stamp of great uncertainty upon them.

8th Month, 13th. We returned this day to Philadelphia. In our way, we stopped at the Buck Tavern, where we supped and breakfasted. After breakfast we crossed the Schuilkill, at Spring Mill

Ferry, and had a sight of a vineyard of about five acres, under the management of a Frenchman. As the vines were not suffered to grow more than three feet in height, it had something the appearance of a field of raspberries. By thus pruning down the vines, the fruit, generally, becomes much finer than when suffered to spread, as is commonly the case in England. This day the thermometer stood at 76, in the shade, at two o'clock in the afternoon. I believe that we have sometimes as hot days in England, during the summer months, as are commonly felt in America; but there being a much longer continuance of hot weather in the latter country, it is, of course, more favourable for ripening various kinds of fruit. Having been very kindly invited, I dined at E. L.'s, the father of one of our companions on the voyage from Liverpool. The generous attentions I experienced in this family, I trust, I shall not soon forget. On sitting down to dinner, I found myself in company with three other Englishmen, whom this kind family had also invited: they were J. S. of Manchester; J. N. of Wakefield; and J. F. of Leeds.

8th Month, 14*th*, was employed in Philadelphia; and, after business, I drank tea and spent the evening at B. J.'s. He was one of that little band of friends who visited the South of France a few years ago.

8th Month, 15*th*. Spent part of this day at J. W.'s, where I had the company of R. J. and M. R. The lively and cheerful flow of R. J.'s spirits remains with her in old age; no doubt, in a great measure, the result of a well-spent life; and she enjoys, in a remarkable degree, the love and esteem of her neighbours and friends. In the evening I called on Wm. Savery's widow, who appeared to be dejected, on account of the recent loss of a beloved husband. Few men have finished their course, in the possession of more esteem and regard from mankind in general; and his mind dwelling near to the Fountain of Life and Love, his charity was unbounded. Exclusive of the testimony of the meeting to which he belonged, I noticed a number of tributes to his memory, in a variety of periodical publications, both in prose and verse.

8th Month, 16*th*. Spent a pleasant evening at D. Bacon's. He, like the last-mentioned friend, was a man highly esteemed in the circle of his acquaintance; and, being of a sweet disposition, had great place amongst young friends, when his advice was wanted. He is since deceased.

8th Month, 17*th*. I dined and spent a part of the day at James Pemberton's, a kind and hospitable friend of this meeting. Although approaching to his 90th year, he was then of considerable activity in offices of kindness to his

friends. Having lived nearly all his time in this city, he has had the opportunity of observing its regular, although rapid progress, from a small town to a great commercial city. Amongst other things, he mentioned to me that he well remembered the time when there was but one ironmonger's shop in the place; and when there was only one ship in the trade between Philadelphia and London; and the arrival of this vessel used to be of so much importance, that marriages were sometimes delayed until its return. Such is the great increase of this city, that it is now said to contain 106,000 inhabitants; more than 1000 families of whom are of our society.

8th Month, 18*th*. Being the first day of the week, I attended Frankfort meeting; afterwards dined at N. W.'s, and in the afternoon drank tea at A. G.'s, where I slept. And the next day I returned to Philadelphia, A. G. kindly giving me a seat in his carriage.

8th Month, 20*th*. Most part of this day was employed at Philadelphia, in writing to my family in England. Having an opportunity of noticing a thermometer, I observed that it stood at 82 in the shade. The next day was employed in business at Philadelphia; and I supped and spent the evening at J. W.'s.

8th Month, 22d. I set out for New-York in the packet-boat, by way of Burlington, and had a pleasant sail up the Delaware, being about 20 miles. The fare I paid was 13½d. to Burlington. The next day I attended Burlington meeting, and on the 24th, set out in the public stage for Amboy, passing through a great part of West Jersey. In our way we breakfasted at Croswick's, where I noticed a noble meeting-house and school, which friends have built there, with spacious grounds about them, all in neat order. This night I lodged at the inn at Amboy, and was pleasantly lulled to rest by the plaintive notes of the Whippoorwill. This bird is often heard in the dead of the night, in the summer season, in America. Its song is an unceasing repetition of the three syllables of its name, "Whip-poor-will," in soft and plaintive accents.

8th Month, 25th. This morning I went on board the packet for New-York, and in the passage we passed by the Romulus, Capt. R. B. from Liverpool. By this vessel I had the pleasure of receiving letters from my friends in England, and also agreeable accounts of my wife and children, who were at Liverpool when she left that port.

I staid at New-York till after the 11th of the 9th month. In this city I once dined at the house of ———, in company with several English friends.

This individual is a remarkable instance of the instability of human things. A very short time since he was one of the most wealthy merchants in this city, and stood high in the estimation of friends, and that deservedly. By the Indians who visited New-York, he was looked up to as a father; and his house was always open to them. When by a sudden reverse, arising from circumstances which he could not controul, his property was dissipated and lost.

9th Month, 3d and 4th, were employed in business. One day, in passing along the streets, I was entertained with the sight of two Indian young men, with each a bow and arrow in his hand, tripping nimbly along, like two wild animals yet unbroken to the yoke. I also attended the sale of a forge and saw mill, with four dwelling-houses, and 50 acres of land, distant 40 miles from New-York, and 10 miles from Hudson's River. The whole sold for 270l. sterling. Before I left this city, I wrote several letters to my family and friends in England, by the Josiah, Collins.

9th Month, 12th. I left New-York in the stage, for Philadelphia, arrived there the next day; and, after staying one night, set out for Baltimore in the stage, by way of Derby, Chester, Wilmington, Head of Elk, and Havre-de-Grace. Here I

crossed the Susquehanna, a noble river, being about one mile over. Thence I proceeded to the Gunpowder Falls, where I saw some considerable iron works.

9th Month, 15*th*. I came to Baltimore, and being pressingly invited by J. T. I took up my quarters at his house. As I was a stranger in Baltimore, and had no acquaintance with him, but had accidentally met with him at a friend's house, as I was delivering a letter, I felt the greater obligation to him for his generous attention.

9th Month, 16*th*. After being employed the forepart of the day in business, I was invited to dinner by G. M. an open-hearted old man, and father-in-law to J. T. with whom I spent part of the day. In the afternoon I called upon G. M. who, a considerable time back, had emigrated with his father, of the same name, and several branches of the family, into this country, out of the northern parts of Yorkshire.

9th Month, 17*th*. I left Baltimore, and, in the evening, came to Washington City; or rather to the scite on which the Metropolis of the United States is intended to be built; for, as yet, little is done towards the foundation of a city, excepting the public offices, and houses for the accommodation of the officers and clerks in the various de-

partments of the State, and a few inns and taverns; but, as George Town is adjoining to it, they together make up a population of about 8000 inhabitants. The capitol will be a noble building when finished; and is beautifully situated on a commanding eminence; whence every part of the city may be seen; and whence also is a fine prospect of the Navy Yard, and of the Potowmack as far down as to Alexandria; being a distance of 6 or 7 miles. Upon the whole, the situation is one of the most eligible spots for a city that I have ever seen; and the plan being deliberately drawn out, and every thing done with regularity and order, it bids fair, at some future day, to be one of the most elegant and regularly built cities in the world; and, what is of more consequence, the situation is dry and healthy. To a contemplative mind, there is something very interesting in the consideration of the representatives of an extensive empire, like that of the United States, thus jointly fixing upon the most eligible situation for their chief city.

After taking tea at George Town, I crossed the Potowmack, and went down that evening to Alexandria, a beautiful little city, situated on that river, at a spot where it is about one mile over, and so deep that ships of war ride at anchor before the town.

A worthy friend, of this city, mentioned to me a remarkable preservation experienced there during the war. While the town was in the hands of the American Government, the English Commander had, for some reason, given orders to burn it; and a ship of war, containing every requisite for its destruction, was ordered up the Potowmack. The inhabitants, as may well be conceived, were in the utmost consternation; but, at the moment when they were in the greatest confusion and distress; whilst the ship was steadily making her way within sight of the town, and all was given up for lost, there being no prospect of help, at this critical moment, the ship struck upon a sandbank, where she remained immoveable. The town was thus providentially saved from destruction, by that All-powerful arm, which so often interposes in the affairs of men; sometimes bringing down those who by a series of success seemed to think themselves out of the reach of accident; and sometimes raising up others who by a long train of adversity had thought themselves even below hope.

9th Month, 18*th*. I lodged last night at Alexandria. Soon after I fell asleep, I was suddenly waked by the noise of a number of horns. It appeared to me that the instruments used were cow-horns; and they made a prodigious bellowing in the dead of the night. On inquiring I found that it was the constant practice of the watchmen of

this city, on meeting, to take their rounds, to serenade the citizens with a loud blast from their horns, which they carry with them, and which are used for the same purpose as the watchmen's rattles in England. This morning, in company with two friends, I crossed the Potowmack, and paid a visit to a family at N——. This family, consisting chiefly of females, were born at Wickersley, near Rotherham. Their mother was of a family near Settle, who are of the Roman Catholic persuasion. The family came over early in the settlement of Maryland by Lord Baltimore; and the bricks of which the house is built, they informed me, were brought over in the same ship with their progenitors. The house is constructed upon the plan of some of our old English mansions; and the garden is laid out in the old English stile. It is remarkable that I have never yet seen a garden, in America, walled round as in England. I believe that one principal reason is the warmth of the climate, and the clear, fine atmosphere, which preclude the use of fruit walls. Besides, walls would obstruct the free current of air, which would be an objection to them. Yet, I have frequently seen gardens handsomely fenced round to the height of 6 or 7 feet, with neatly planed boards, painted white or green. It abated greatly the pleasure I should have received from the hospitality of this family, when I was informed that they were in possession of upwards of one hundred Negro

slaves; numbers of whom I saw at work in the fields, the garden, and about the house. They appeared to be a remarkably stout, robust race of men, and, in point of health, had, to all appearance, greatly the advantage of their owners. A person, not conversant with these things, would be naturally led to think, that where families have the opportunity of employing a number of slaves, every thing about their houses, gardens, and plantations, would be kept in very nice order. However, the reverse of this is generally the case; and I was sometimes ready to think that the more slaves there were employed about a house and plantation, the more disorder appeared. I am persuaded, that in a well-regulated family, with one or two hired servants, much more neatness, order, and comfort may be preserved, than can be maintained by treble the number of slaves. I have been in families where several slaves were kept which have scarcely afforded the common necessaries of life. I have sat at table in families where two or three slaves have waited upon us, and yet there has not been a lodging-room or accommodations at night, equal to what many a labouring man in England is able to furnish; and, to compare the accommodations of a slave-holder, in some of the Southern States, with what the meanest of the Pennsylvanian farmers are accustomed to, would be still more unfavourable to the former.

9th Month, 19*th*. After attending to some business, P. J. and several other friends joining us, we took a boat with an intention of visiting Mount Vernon; but, after sailing a few miles on the Potowmack, the wind got up very high, and we found it would be unsafe to land; so, after taking a view of that beautiful spot from the river, we found it most prudent to return. Before we had got half way back to Alexandria, the wind still increasing, a great part of our company preferred walking 7 or 8 miles in the heat of the day, to the danger of continuing their voyage on the river; and they were accordingly put on shore at the first convenient landing. On approaching the shore, I was entertained with the sight of a number of beautiful tortoises, that were seated upon the edge of a large boat which lay a wreck at the water side. Their colours were as beautifully variegated as the wings of the butterfly. After landing a part of our company, we beat up the river in the best manner we could; and, had I not been a pretty good swimmer, I should frequently have considered myself in extreme danger; but knowing that if the boat had filled with water, I was able to swim on shore, I had not much fear about me.

9th Month, 20*th*. I attended Alexandria monthly meeting in the forenoon; and, there being a vessel lying here, which was about sailing for Liverpool,

I wrote and forwarded several letters to my relatives in England. Although the atmosphere on the continent is in general very clear; yet I could not avoid noticing, that, in this part of America, it was still clearer than in any place I had before seen. The stars seemed to glitter with a brilliancy exceeding any thing I had already been witness to. So great was their lustre, that, waking about midnight, and observing a considerable degree of light shining into the chamber, at first, I thought it might be from the moon; but, on recollection, I knew this could not be the case, and looking out at the window, I found the light proceeded from several brilliant stars, which shone with such brightness as to cause the shadow of any intervening object, much in the same manner as the moon. The inn I slept at, is kept by an Englishman of the name of Gadsley, and is conducted in a manner much superior to most inns in this country, or many in England. Every thing was preserved neat and clean, with good beds, and not more than one or two in a chamber.

NOTE.—James Pemberton, a friend mentioned in page 36, is since deceased; and an interesting account is given of him in the 10th part of "Piety Promoted," by J. G. Bevan.

CHAP. III.

Port-Tobacco—Fredericksburg—Richmond—Negro trial—Gouchland—Fredericksburg—Effects of Negro Slavery on the Whites—Mount Vernon—George Town—Baltimore—Brandy Wine—Wilmington—Philadelphia.

On the 21st of 9th Month, 1804, I left Alexandria, crossed the Potowmack, and went down to Port-Tobacco. In my way I passed through Piscattaway, where I dined, and where, amongst other things, broiled squirrels were served up at table. In travelling along this day, I observed that the population of this part of the country consisted chiefly of black people; and, in many parts of the road, I noticed it was mostly tracked with their bare feet, some of which appeared to be immoderately large, arising, probably, from their almost constant practice of going barefoot. In many places I had an opportunity of seeing the farmers busily employed in treading out the grain in the open fields, with their horses. These were mounted with several negro boys, who continued riding round and round in a circle, in which the sheaves were spread. At the same time, a number of negro men were employed in casting off the straw, when the grain was trodden out, and replacing it with fresh sheaves. Sometimes I have seen ten or twelve horses go round in one circle; one negro boy having the care of two or three horses.

9th Month, 22d. In passing by the public grave-yard at Port-Tobacco, I observed on one of the grave stones, the name of Gray inscribed, with the addition that he was a native of the parish of Sheffield.

9th Month, 23d. In travelling along the road, I was a little entertained with several parties of females riding to their places of worship; some of whom were escorted by a negro boy who rode behind one of the girls. On coming to a gate, or any other impediment, the negro jumps nimbly off the horse, and, after rendering the service required, as nimbly runs after his mistress and again resumes his seat, without any detention of the party.

Yesterday I visited Colonel Ware, at his habitation, by whom I was kindly treated. Many habitations in this part of the country are exceedingly private and retired; and the situations of some of them beautiful beyond description; but that cruel system of negro slavery, seems to hang like a dark cloud over all their pleasant scenes. In the afternoon of this day, I returned to Alexandria, and, in crossing the Potowmack, was ferried over by two negro slaves, who gave me an account of two of their fellow slaves being drowned, in crossing this ferry during the last winter, at a time when large quantities of ice were floating down the stream, which overset the boat. I believe, it some-

times happens, that these poor creatures are very unnecessarily exposed to dangers, when they dare not remonstrate with their owners.

Arriving at Alexandria in time, I attended their afternoon meeting, and dined with W. P. a valuable old customer; and afterwards supped and spent the evening with his partner J. B. a worthy Minister.

9th Month, 24th. I set out in the mail stage for Fredericksburg, where I spent the evening, and lodged at the house of a hospitable person of the name of J. C. who, though not a member of our society, has a regard for friends and their principles. In some conversation I had with him, he told me that he came over to America with his parents, in early life, from Ireland; and being soon left an orphan, had many difficulties and discouragements to surmount; but that he had been favoured to establish himself here. I found he was considered by his neighbours, as a man of respectability; and by many of them was supposed to be a member of our society. Although convinced of the truth of our principles, yet I believe he has never applied to be received as a member; and being at a considerable distance from any meeting of friends, and having but little of their society, except the transient call of such as may be travelling that way, it is probable he never may apply,

9th Month, 25th. I pursued my way to Richmond in the mail stage, through a beautiful country, but clouded and debased by Negro slavery. At the house where I breakfasted, which is called the Bowling-green, I was told that the owner had in his possession 200 slaves. In one field near the house, planted with tobacco, I counted nearly 20 women and children, employed in picking grubs from the plant. In the afternoon I passed by a field in which several poor slaves had lately been executed, on the charge of having an intention to rise against their masters. A lawyer who was present at their trials at Richmond, informed me that on one of them being asked, what he had to say to the court in his defence, he replied, in a manly tone of voice: "I have nothing more to offer than what General Washington would have had to offer, had he been taken by the British and put to trial by them. I have adventured my life in endeavouring to obtain the liberty of my countrymen, and am a willing sacrifice in their cause: and I beg, as a favour, that I may be immediately led to execution. I know that you have pre-determined to shed my blood, why then all this mockery of a trial?"

In the evening I arrived at Richmond, the capital of Virginia. In one respect, this has a good deal the appearance of an English town, having a cloud of smoke hanging over it, occasioned by the use of pit-coal. They have great plenty of this

article in the neighbourhood, a considerable quantity of which they ship to other parts of the United States. There is also a navigable canal for the conveyance of coal, on which a great deal of business is done, and the canal appears to be as well managed as those in England.

9th Month, 26th. Having business with C. A. of Gouchland, at the distance of about 30 miles on a cross road, I hired a horse and rode to his house in the course of the day. My road lying, part of the way, through extensive plantations cultivated by negro slaves, many of whom dwell in small clusters of huts at no great distance from their master's house, I had the curiosity to look into some of their little habitations; but all that I examined were wretched in the extreme, and far inferior to many Indian cottages I have seen.

In passing along I observed in some places that the land was very productive in tobacco, being a fine rich black mould.

9th Month, 27th. I slept at C. A.'s, and this morning set out for Fredericksburg, being accompanied by his young man, our road lying through the woods great part of the way. At the place where we dined, we were waited on by two mullatto girls, whose only clothing appeared to

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be loose garments of cotton and woollen cloth, girt round the waist with a small cord. I had observed that this was a common dress of the working female Negroes in the fields; but, when engaged in business in the house, it seemed hardly sufficient to cover them. In the yard, I observed a number of slaves engaged in the management of a still, employed in making spirits from cyder. Here again I had the curiosity to look into some of the Negro huts, which like those I had before seen, presented little else but dirt and rags. In travelling along, I saw several plantations of cotton, in some of which the negro children were gathering the wool. In the afternoon, as our road lay through the woods, I was surprised to meet a family party travelling along in as elegant a coach as is usually met with in the neighbourhood of London; and attended by several gaily dressed footmen: a sight not very common in the back-woods of this country. The evening coming on, and no inn being near, we took up our quarters at the house of a planter of the name of Holiday, where we were well accommodated.

9th Month, 28th. We came to Fredericksburg and lodged at Fisher's Tavern. The next morning, I was waked early by the cries of a poor Negro, who was undergoing a severe correction, previously to his going to work. On taking a walk on the banks of the Rappahannock, the river on which

this town is seated, I stepped into one of the large tobacco warehouses which are built here, for the reception and inspection of that plant, before it is permitted to be exported. On entering into conversation with an inspector, as he was employed in looking over a parcel of tobacco, he lamented the licenciousness which he remarked so generally prevailed in this town. He said, that in his remembrance, the principal part of the inhabitants were emigrants from Scotland, and that it was considered so reproachful to the white inhabitants, if they were found to have an illicit connection with their female slaves, that their neighbours would shun the company of such, as of persons with whom it was a reproach to be acquainted. The case was now so much altered that, he believed, there were but few slave-holders in the place who were free from guilt in this respect: and that it was now thought but little of. Such was the brutality and hardness of heart which this evil produced, that many amongst them paid no more regard to selling their own children, by their female slaves, or even their brothers and sisters, in the same line, than they would do to the disposal of a cow or a horse, or any other property in the brute creation. To so low a degree of degradation does the system of negro slavery sink the white inhabitants, who are unhappily engaged in it.

9th Month, 29th. Having paid my fare last night to go in the mail stage to Alexandria, I repaired to the ——— Tavern this morning, at the hour appointed by the landlord, who is also clerk to the stage; but the circumstance of my lodging at another inn, on account of the vermin with which I had been annoyed when I last slept at the ——— Tavern, had so displeased the man, that he had sent off the stage considerably before the usual time, in order that I might be disappointed of getting to Alexandria this day. As I stood at the door of the Tavern, remonstrating with the landlord on account of his mean and unkind conduct in treating me thus, J. C. rode up to us on an excellent horse of his own; and, as soon as he understood how the landlord had behaved to me, he immediately dismounted and insisted upon my pursuing my journey upon his horse. I accordingly accepted his generous offer, but, before I set out, I complained to the post-master, who returned the money I had paid at the Tavern, and, at the same time declared, that if ever he again detected the landlord in the like base conduct to any traveller, he would remove the mail stage to another inn. The circumstance of pursuing my journey on horseback, afforded me an opportunity of visiting Mount Vernon, the habitation of the late General Washington; and I was shown through the house by a person who had the care of it. The situation is beautiful, being a rising ground,

commanding a fine prospect of the river Potowmack and the surrounding country. In the evening, I arrived safe at Gadsby's Tavern in Alexandria, having enjoyed, on horseback, a much more pleasant ride, than I should have had in the stage. Thus it sometimes happens that our enjoyments arise out of disappointments.

9th Month, 30th. A respectable person at the inn being about to return towards Fredericksburg, afforded me an opportunity of sending back J. C.'s horse, and I accordingly availed myself of it. I supped and spent this evening at E. S.'s, a valuable medical friend in this city.

10th Month, 1st and 2d, were spent at Alexandria in commercial engagements. The next day I took my passage in the packet for George Town, and had a pleasant sail up the Potowmack; having a fine view of Washington city, particularly of the capitol and of the President's house; which are in sight all the way from Alexandria. In the evening I came to George Town, and staid at an inn, in company with a Messenger who had just arrived from Spain, with dispatches for the American Government; and, he being an agreeable intelligent person, the time I was with him was spent satisfactorily.

10th Month, 4th. I set out for Baltimore, in company with Thomas Washington, a relation of

the General of that name. With this person I had some acquaintance, having met with him before. In travelling along, he gave me a little account of a visit he paid to Paris, at the time of the Revolution. Amongst other things, he mentioned to me the extreme indifference with which many poor men paid the forfeit of their lives, during that awful period. At one time he accompanied the American Ambassador, to a place whence he had a near view of a number of these victims, as they were about to be executed; and where he was so near that he could hear their conversation; which was as light and frivolous as of men engaged in the common or ordinary concerns of life. One of them remarked to his companion, that he would take care that he would have nothing to do with Revolutions in the next world, seeing he had met with so poor a reward in this.

Several of our companions in the stage were French people, and amongst them a Catholic priest. There was something singular in this man's conduct and conversation. Sometimes he appeared very devoutly reading a book of devotion; and, in a moment, he would shut up his book and begin singing with the greatest gaiety, and talking nonsense to his female companions. In the afternoon I arrived at Baltimore, and took up my quarters at J. T.'s.

10*th Month, 5th.* A vessel being about to sail for England from this port, I employed the day in writing to my family and friends there; and, in the evening, I supped with my old friend G. M.

10*th Month, 6th.* This day I was engaged in attending to my concerns in Baltimore; and the next being the 1st of the week, I attended the meeting in that city, and supped and spent the evening with J. M. an old customer, who having acquired a large property in trade, has now retired from business. I was informed that his eldest son had addressed Wm. Patterson's daughter, in order to marriage; but having Jerome Bonaparté for a rival, had met with a disappointment; she having given the preference to the Frenchman, to whom she is now married. I had an opportunity of seeing Jerome and his bride, and could perceive in his countenance and person, a great resemblance to the portraits we see of the French Emperor.

10*th Month, 8th,* was employed in writing to my friends in England; and, an opportunity offering, I forwarded several letters and papers to them.

10*th Month, 9th.* I left Baltimore. The road in some parts lying through the woods, and the wind being very high, we found some difficulty in getting along, on account of the great number of large trees which were blown down and laid across the road. However we got safe to Havre-de-

Grace; but the wind continuing high, it was thought unsafe to send the mail across the Susquehanna, which is here upwards of a mile over; so we concluded to lodge here, and see what the morning might produce. As we were a mixed company in the stage, the conversation turned on various subjects; and the poor Negro slaves being frequently in sight, as we passed along, they became one of course. I observed one passenger to be a warm advocate for the slave trade; and he, in very strong terms, condemned the conduct of friends who were active in the cause of the Negroes. Amongst other things, he remarked that there was a tailor in Philadelphia, a Quaker, of the name of —— ——, whose work-board being at a front window, he had an opportunity of noticing the passengers in the street; and that whenever he saw a Negro whom he judged to be a runaway slave, he would, in a moment, jump from his work-board and run into the street. If he found the Negro to be really a runaway, he would take him under his protection, and send him to some settlement in the back parts of Pennsylvania, where he would be sure to find employment; and thus he went on from day to day, in what the slave merchant considered no better than highway robbery. The man who was making these observations, I found had been in that trade; and that T. H. was the friend who had with much propriety been a father to the oppressed Negroes.

10*th Month*, 10*th*. The winds having somewhat abated, we ventured to cross the Susquehanna; but it being the time of low water, and the force of the winds having driven down the water very considerably the boats could not approach the firm land by more than 100 yards, and we had to mount upon the backs of the boatmen, who carried us through the mud; but with considerable difficulty, and not without now and then letting us down in the mire. On getting fairly over, I found a number of friends by the river side, on their way to Baltimore yearly meeting; and amongst them M. W. formerly of Sheffield. In the course of the afternoon I passed by A. A. near the Head of Elk. In the evening I came to Newport, where I slept, having had the company of J. Plesants, of Philadelphia.

10*th Month*, 11*th*. I came to Wilmington, and was kindly entertained at S. S.'s and J. G.'s; the former of whom accompanied me to the Brandy Wine River Mills. These mills are mostly in the hands of friends; and although not the most extensive, are in construction and in situation perhaps equal to any. They are eight in number, and each grind upon an average, per day, about three tons and a half of flour, and about ten tons of Indian meal; going through all the processes of grinding, dressing, packing, &c. They are so situated, that sea vessels receive and discharge their cargoes

alongside the mills. The neighbourhood of these mills is romantic and beautiful, and is one amongst the many pleasant spots I have seen in this country. Indeed the town of Wilmington has every advantage; its situation being on a rising ground, and its streets, intersecting each other at right angles.

10*th Month*, 12*th*, was spent pleasantly at Wilmington, in the families of J. G. and S. S. In this place, as in many towns in this country, I observed that a considerable proportion of the inhabitants were friends, and what to an Englishman had something remarkable in it, I noticed that the females at the inn, where I took my place in the stage, appeared like plain consistent friends, and indeed they were such, for ought I know to the contrary.

10*th Month*, 13*th*. I took my departure for Philadelphia, the road lying through a pleasant country, diversified with hill and dale, and commanding a fine prospect of the Delaware and the opposite Jersey shore, nearly all the way. In passing by some farms near Wilmington, I was struck with the sight of several fields of Indian corn, the crops on which were finer than any I had ever before seen. On inquiry, I found they belonged to an innkeeper, who had manured them well. From various observations I have made, I have no doubt that the land

in this country, generally speaking, would, when plentifully manured, yield much greater crops than can commonly be obtained in England; chiefly owing to their summer, or season of vegetation continuing a greater length of time than with us. In the evening I arrived at Philadelphia.

10*th Month*, 14*th*. This being the first day of the week, I attended meeting; and, in the afternoon was at the burial of S. E. who had been a friend and customer of mine some years. The uncertainty of life, and the fluctuating state of things in the world, were seldom more fully exemplified than in the case of this young man. Few men have pursued business with more reputation and success than he had done; so that, in a few years, he had honourably acquired a very large property; and, only a few weeks before, was united to an amiable young woman, to whom he had for some time been sincerely attached. At this moment, when every thing on earth seemed to smile around him, and there was every prospect of many years of happiness, a blight was brought over all, in an unexpected and awful way. He was suddenly deprived of reason, and, after a few weeks confinement, departed this life, leaving a mournful, although instructive lesson of the mutability of all earthly enjoyments. Having received an invitation from my countryman T. S. I supped and spent the evening at his house.

10th Month, 15th and 16th, I was employed in business; and having an opportunity, by a vessel which was ready for sailing, I wrote to my family. The next day I spent an hour or two in Doctor R.'s family. The Doctor, although advanced in years, is still very active in business; and his wife, who is an elderly woman, continues to be very active in her family. I found them amidst a numerous group of promising children; some of whom are arrived at years of maturity. The conversation I had with the Doctor was interesting, he having been intimately acquainted with many of the leading characters in the Revolution, particularly with General Washington, and the President, T. Jefferson. As Doctor R. had constantly been a warm advocate for the abolition of Negro slavery, he sometimes endeavoured to introduce the subject in conversation with the General; but always found him extremely backward at saying any thing on these occasions, as if conscious of the cruelty of the practice, although he was deeply involved in it. Though a man of great character and talents in many respects, yet the detention of his Negro slaves in bondage during his life, will always be a shade to his virtues. Yet it is but justice to notice that, by will, he provided for the liberation of his slaves, who in course became freemen at his death.

CHAPTER IV.

Occurrences, &c. in Philadelphia, during a stay of several Months.

I staid in Philadelphia for some months longer; but my engagements being of a commercial nature, this period furnishes but little matter that would be interesting to the reader. I shall therefore pass along with extracting some few observations.

10*th Month*, 30*th*, 1804. I attended the North Division meeting. In the evening, being on a visit at J. P.'s, I noticed a grave looking ancient friend, whose speech and apparel corresponded, excepting that the fingers of both hands were adorned with rings, which I supposed to be gold. On inquiring the cause, I was informed that the friend was an approved Minister, notwithstanding her fingers were so ornamented; that rings were commonly worn, by some, as a remedy for the rheumatism, and that this friend wore them on that account; but those she had on were only brass.

11*th Month*, 2*d*. I supped and spent the evening at S. S.'s, where a sister of John Pemberton's widow was present. She informed me, that her father was frequently in the practice of entertaining different parties of Indians, who came to Philadelphia on public business; and that having once

invited a number of chiefs, who were then in the city, to breakfast, they came to the house rather earlier than the servants expected, accompanied by their interpreter. However they were introduced into the breakfast room, where a servant was engaged in brightening up some of the brass work about the fire-place, and were desired to sit down until her master made his appearance. They had not sat long, before one of the Indians made an observation in his own language, which the interpreter was desired to put into English; but this he objected to, alleging that what the Indian had said was a matter of indifference, and not worth repeating. On being closely pressed to keep back nothing the Indians might say, as every thing from them would be interesting, he complied, and said that the remark which the Indian made was this: "Look," said he to his fellow Indians, "at that servant, how she labours at those andirons. I dare say, if we had come yesterday, we should have found her at the same employment; and if we come to-morrow morning, it is ten to one but we shall still find her at the same work. How foolish these white people are! thus to labour and toil about things which can answer no good purpose; certainly these white people must be fools!" Thus the Indians judge the civilized part of the world; and what is called the civilized world, is not behind in judging the Indians; so apt are we to judge one another.

11*th Month*, 15*th*. In conversation with a friend of the name of R. W. he informed me that, in the early part of his life, he was on the island of the Havanna, where he had some considerable business to transact; but being ignorant of the Spanish language, an Irish Roman Catholic Priest kindly lent him his assistance on various occasions; and, so effectually, that the Priest was the means of his acquiring a large property, during a short stay there. At the time of parting with this friendly Priest, he presented him with a purse of one thousand dollars, as a small compensation for the assistance he had received; but the truly Catholic Priest declared, that he would not accept of any compensation of this sort; adding, "All I ask of you, in return for any service I may have rendered you, is, that if, at any future period, you happen to meet a countryman of mine in need of assistance, you would do to him as I have done to you." This affords one amongst many proofs, that the truly Christian spirit is not confined to any profession of religion.

3*d of* 12*th Month*. After attending the North Division meeting, I called at the widow ———, where I saw the body of a young man from Sheffield, who was found dead in his bed that morning. I was conducted into the room by another person from Sheffield. From the appearance of the deceased,

it seemed that he had departed without the least struggle. He went to bed in usual health. How uncertain is the tenure of human life!

On the 1st of 1st Month, 1805, I attended the burial of the above-mentioned young man, in company with several of my countrymen; amongst whom was Phineas Bond, the British Consul. The Bishop of Pennsylvania performed what is called the burial service, after the manner of the Church of England.

1st Month, 4th. This day was remarkably cold, far beyond any thing I had ever experienced in England. The thermometer being down as low as 12, about 20 degrees below the freezing point. The river Delaware, which is more than a mile over, and which has a strong current, was quickly frozen over to that degree, that horses and carriages, heavily laden, were seen traversing from one side to the other in great numbers; chiefly with fire wood from the Jersey shore. Exclusive of these, parties of pleasure were seen driving along in sledges or slays upon the ice. These kinds of carriages are in various fantastic forms resting upon sliders shod with iron or steel.

1st Month, 6th. In company with T. W. I crossed the Delaware upon the ice. The tide flows to the height of about 6 feet in this river, and in

it are some sand banks which are seen at low water. These circumstances produce a very singular and romantic appearance, by the large sheets of ice being obstructed and accumulated in various parts of the river, having the resemblance of large blocks of white marble piled on heaps. There being a constant intercourse between the two shores of the Delaware, it is curious to observe the various means which the owners of the ferry boats use, to counteract the effects of the frost, on its first setting in, so as to preserve the communication open. On these occasions they make use of a boat that has two sliders, one on each side the keel, shod with iron; and, as the shallow parts of the river are first frozen, they sail as usual over the deep parts, and, on coming to those which are frozen, they drag the boat out of the water, and push it along the ice, until they come to the deep places, when the boat is again plunged into the water. Thus they go on until they reach the opposite shore; and as it will, in course, sometimes happen, in the early part of the frost, that between the deep and the shallow water, the ice is not sufficiently strong to support the boat; in this case, it is common for one of the ferrymen to sit at the head of the boat, with his feet hanging out, loaded with a pair of heavy iron bound shoes, and, with a long pole in his hands. With these he labours with all his might, to break the ice, and make way for the boat.

1*st Month*, 7*th*. I supped and spent the evening at B. J.'s, in whose service is a young Frenchman, a son of one of those friends who reside at Nismes or in that neighbourhood; and I believe he conducts himself agreeably in the family. I have noticed a number of friends in Philadelphia, who have come from various parts of the continent of Europe. They appear thankful for the encouragement and protection they meet with in this favoured land; and some of them having felt the heavy hand of oppression in their native country, know better how to estimate the value of the privileges which they here enjoy.

1*st Month*, 8*th*. I spent this afternoon at J. D.'s, a friend who, some years past, came from the neighbourhood of Darlington, with his wife and family. There is something so remarkable in the circumstances of his leaving England, that I am tempted to give them as related from his own mouth. He being a merchant of great respectability and liberality, who by industry has realized a large property, I believe they may be relied on. For some time before he left England, his thoughts had been turned towards Pennsylvania; but, before he had come to any fixed resolution, he dreamed that he had met with a friend, from that country, who was able to give him every necessary information on the subject. A short time after this dream he came accidentally to Darlington, where he saw a

person in the street, who exactly resembled the friend he had seen in his dream. He accordingly applied to him, and found the individual he was speaking to, was John Pemberton of Philadelphia, who was at that time on a religious visit to Great Britain. Having received what information he thought necessary, he made arrangements for his voyage to America, and, with his wife and children, took a final leave of England.

1*st Month*, 9*th*. I drank tea and spent the evening with R. J. at her comfortable habitation. It was pleasant to see how cheerful and lively this valuable friend is preserved in old age. On noticing the coldness of the weather, she remarked that it was the most inclement season she had witnessed for 40 years. Considering how green and lively her faculties are preserved in the winter of her age, it is not surprising that she maintains the esteem and affection of her friends and neighbours.

1*st Month*, 14*th*. I dined at J. W.'s, in company with Doctor Fothergill of Bath, who had lately come over to America, on account of his health. At J. W.'s hospitable table, we were treated with wild venison, which had been sent to him from amongst the Indians. Another of the company was a partner in a house at Antwerp. I was sometimes ready to think that Philadelphia might be considered as a kind of central depôt, in

books; but that he was determined to be Emperor of Haiti, (the Indian name for Domingo,) in defiance of both the French and the Quakers. Notwithstanding this determination, he has since been cut off by his enemies.

This day I attended Market-street Meeting, and afterwards dined with A. A. and M. R. and spent a great part of the afternoon with them very pleasantly.

2d Month, 1*st*. This day I dined at J. D.'s, in company with J. F. one of the persons who accompanied me on my voyage from England. The extreme severity of the winter had brought down several kinds of water fowls from the northern parts of this continent, which were quite unknown to the naturalists in this country. J. F. shewed me one of them which he had purchased, and which appeared to be a species of duck; but was much larger, and of a more beautiful plumage than the common kind.

2d Month, 4*th*. I attended the quarterly meeting in this city, in which a testimony on account of W. Savery, was produced and read, expressive of the high estimation in which he was held by friends here.

2d Month, 14*th*. Being invited, I attended the marriage of J. W. and A. A. of Philadelphia,

where I met with my countrywoman A. A. and her companion M. R.; and also T. S. formerly of Kendal, who is now married and well settled in this city.

2d Month, 21st. I still continued in Philadelphia; and this afternoon was pleasantly spent at S. S.'s. The next day I attended the Middle Monthly Meeting, where I was gratified with the sight of a young man presenting an acknowledgement to friends, on account of having taken up arms; for which he had been disowned. During the time he was in the army, he had married an amiable young woman, who was convinced of the truth of friends' principles, and joined the society. The impression made upon the meeting, on his presenting his acknowledgement, was such, that he was reinstated in the society before the meeting separated.

Being invited by J. E. I supped and spent the evening at his house. A person was also in company with us, who had made himself remarkable, in being a principal leader and minister among those seceders, who give themselves the name of Free Quakers; and who, during the war with England, gave friends a great deal of trouble. The ground of their offence against friends, was, chiefly, the operation of the rules of discipline, in a

variety of cases, that arose out of circumstances attending the revolution; particularly with respect to taking up arms in defence of the country; and things of that nature. This person appears to be a man of good abilities, but of strong passions; and he is considered as the main support of his society; which is now reduced to a very small number, and will most likely become extinct on his removal.

2d Month, 24th. In company with T. S. his wife, and several other friends, I drank tea and spent the evening with J. W. and his bride. The company consisted mostly of natives of England, and on this account the visit was peculiarly gratifying to me in a foreign land.

3d Month, 1st. This afternoon, at B. J.'s, one of our company was a young woman who was there on a visit. Her usual residence was in one of the new settlements, on the banks of the Ohio, about 500 miles from Philadelphia. She informed us that many families on the banks of this great river, are supplied with shop goods from vessels which navigate it, and are fitted up with counters, shelves, and drawers, in the same manner as are shops on land, and well stored with all kinds of goods. As they sail along the river, on coming near a plantation, they blow a horn or conch shell, to give notice of their arrival; when the planters, with their wives and daughters, repair to these floating

shops, and select such things as they are in want of; and make payment in the produce of their plantations; such as grain, flour, cotton, tobacco, dried venison, the skins of wild animals, &c. &c. The shopkeeper having disposed of his goods in this way, returns home with the produce he has collected; and again renews his stock, and proceeds on another voyage. The young woman remarked, that four or five of these floating shops would pass by her father's house, in the course of a day.

She likewise informed us, such was the primitive simplicity in which they lived, that it was a very unusual thing to have locks to their doors; and that when more strangers called upon them, than they had beds to accommodate them with, it was customary for the family to spread temporary beds upon the floor, on which they passed the night, leaving their own to the strangers. Yet, notwithstanding the homely fare of some of the back settlers, luxury is making rapid strides amongst them; so that many of the most costly manufactures of Europe and Asia, begin to find a ready sale in some of their infant towns and cities; and several extensive manufactories are already established at Pittsburgh and in the neighbourhood; where coals are cheaper and more plentiful than in England. In some places the mountain side presents a front of coal, like our rocks of stone in England.

3d Month, 2d, 3d, and 4th, were spent in Philadelphia. The 2d I drank tea and spent a pleasant evening at my kind friend T. S.'s, formerly of Kendal. On the 3d I attended the North Division Meeting, and was afterwards kindly entertained by J. W.'s family, in which I spent an agreeable evening in company with A. A. and R. J.; and on the 4th spent part of the day at my friend T. S.'s, in company with A. A. and her companion M. R.

3d Month, 10th. I went over to Germantown, attended their meeting, and returned to Philadelphia in the evening. At Germantown, I perceived that many of the friends were descendants of German parents; and I should suppose that most of the towns people are of German extraction. I observed here a number of stocking makers, who manufacture an excellent and substantial article.

3d Month, 11th. I dined at the house of a friend, a native of Bermudas. In the course of conversation he informed me, that his business having led him to St. Eustatia, he was there at the time that island was captured by Admiral Rodney; and was witness to many transactions consequent on the capture of such an island; which, like every other effect of war, produced great distress and misery to the inhabitants,

American friends going to meeting on a settled frost.

3*d Month*, 22*d*. After about three months continuance the frost broke up, which was such as had not been felt for the last 40 years, and during which even the largest rivers were so frozen, that heavy carriages passed over them daily, as on dry land. At one time I had the curiosity to measure the ice on the river Delaware, and found it was 22 inches in thickness. Now the wind having shifted to the southward, the snow and ice were fast disappearing; and, on taking a ride towards Gloucester Point, it was curious to hear the loud croaking and whistling, that proceeded from the Lizards and frogs in every pool of water I passed by.

4*th Month*, 5*th*. During my stay in Philadelphia, I often experienced the generous hospitality of my friends, in that city, in very frequent invitations to one or other of their houses. In the recollection of their kindness the feelings of gratitude often arise in my breast.

CHAPTER V.

Burlington—Allentown—New-York—Bristol—Philadelphia—Yearly Meeting there.

On the 6th of the 4th Month, I left Philadelphia on my way to New-York, and, after a pleasant sail of three hours, arrived safe at Burlington. Among the passengers in the packet, was a British sailor on his way to England, being summoned as an evidence on a trial between the owners and underwriters of a slave ship. He told me, that he was the only survivor out of 380 persons; 350 of which were slaves.

We read that a sparrow does not fall to the ground without the notice of our heavenly Father. How great then must be the responsibility of the owners of one of these slave ships, who, in the wantonness of power or the gratification of a base and sordid disposition, thus expose the lives of their fellow-creatures to every species of suffering, and very frequently, as in the above case, to a premature death!

I recollect once being in conversation with a person concerned in this traffic, and who was disposed to defend it; at length being hard pressed, he gave up the point, in a good deal of warmth, with this remarkable declaration:—"Why, Sir,

" you can't suppose that the Almighty looks so " narrowly into our actions as you do!"—Thus we see that the great adversary deceives his victims into a belief, that their actions are not seen by the Omniscient Eye. I spent the evening and slept under G. D.'s hospitable roof.

4th Month, 7th. I attended Burlington Meeting; and in the afternoon set out in the stage for Allentown. My companion in the stage was a young man lately returned from St. Domingo. He had resided several years there, and had been witness to many atrocious cruelties which had been perpetrated on that island, both by the white and black people; and which are too shocking to relate. In making a comparison between the whites and blacks, as to the faculties of the mind, he declared that he could perceive no difference, where the advantages of education had been equal.

4th Month, 8th. I lodged last night at Allentown, and came this day to Amboy; and, after dinner, went on board the packet for New-York, where I arrived safe this evening. I have often admired the prospects around Amboy, as well as those from the Sea, throughout the whole passage to New York, particularly in passing Staten and Long Islands, and when the eye catches a first view of that city. The whole is indeed extremely beautiful, but not easily described.

4th Month, 12th. Since my arrival in New-York, I have been engaged principally with business. On the 11th I accompanied several of my countrymen on board the Laura, on their way to England, and was ready to murmur that I was not to continue one of the party. Whilst I stood upon the battery, watching the ship as she made her way towards the Narrows, the weather being fine and clear, somewhat like one of our finest summer days, I thought that I had scarcely ever beheld a prospect more delightful.

This afternoon, the 12th, I took my passage in the packet, and came again to Amboy in the evening, where I lodged; and, on the 13th, I came to Bristol. On the 14th, being first day, I attended the meeting at this place.

I have often had to notice the hospitality of friends in this part of the world. Here again I witnessed it, in the generous attentions of a friend of this place, who kindly invited me to his house; where I dined. This friend I found was a relation to the Wilson's of Kendal. After spending an hour or two satisfactorily in his family, I went on board the packet for Philadelphia, accompanied by several friends from this neighbourhood, who were on their way to the yearly meeting about to be held in that city. The weather being warm and fine, and having a clear moonlight evening,

we had an agreeable sail down the Delaware; the pleasure of which was heightened, by the unreserved conversation of a number of sensible friends on board the packet. After landing near the spot where William Penn held his treaty with the Indians, I made the best of my way to my old quarters in Arch-street, where I lodged this night.

4th Month, 15th, 1805. I attended the first sitting of the yearly meeting in Philadelphia. This yearly meeting comprises the following quarterly meetings, (viz.) Philadelphia, Abbington, Bucks County, Concord, Caln, Western, Southern, Burlington, Haddenfield, Salem, and Shrewsbury. The first sitting was chiefly occupied in calling over the representatives, reading several certificates of public friends present, from distant yearly meetings, and in answering the five first queries.

In the afternoon the remaining queries were answered.

4th Month, 16th. At the third sitting a number of epistles were received from different yearly meetings on this continent, as well as one from that held in London. Six hundred copies of the latter were ordered to be printed, for distribution within the district of this yearly meeting.

Last evening I attended a committee of the yearly meeting, appointed for the revisal of the discipline.

In the afternoon, I attended the fourth sitting; the early part of which was employed in reading several certificates of public friends present. Some committees were also appointed; and a report from the committee on the revision of the discipline, was read and agreed to.

4th Month, 17th. In the morning, I attended the fifth sitting, when the consideration on the state of the society, as it appeared from the answers to the queries, was entered into. The minutes of the meeting for sufferings were also read; and an epistle to the yearly meeting in London was read and agreed to.

In the afternoon was the sixth sitting, when a report of the state of Westown School was read. Afterwards a discussion took place on the subject of a report of the Committee on Indian affairs being read in the meeting; but it ended without any decision of the question at that time. A testimony respecting Wm. Savery was read, and also one on account of another deceased friend, which concluded the meeting agreeably.

4*th Month*, 18*th*. Meetings for worship being held at the three different meeting-houses in this city, I attended that in Pine-street, and afterwards, being kindly invited, I dined at N. W.'s, in company with a large number of friends, from different parts of the continent.

In the afternoon, I attended the seventh sitting of the yearly meeting, when it was almost immediately agreed, that the report from the committee on Indian affairs should be read; and it turned out very interesting and satisfactory to the meeting at large. After this sitting, I drank tea and spent a pleasant evening at W. A.'s, in company with J. S. a worthy minister, and a broom-maker; a humble occcupation, like that of the apostles of old.

4*th Month*, 19*th*. I attended the eighth sitting, when the minutes of the last yearly meeting were read; also the report of the committee on the revision of the discipline. In consequence of this report, it was agreed that any friend paying money in lieu of *personal* service in war, even though the money thus paid should be applied to the uses of the parochial poor, would infringe upon our testimony against that dreadful evil.

In the afternoon, I attended the ninth sitting, which was mostly occupied about money concerns; when it appeared that the national stock had a

balance in hand. In the evening I attended the Westown School Committee.

4th Month, 20th. I attended the tenth and last sitting of the yearly meeting. The epistles to several yearly meetings were read and agreed to; afterwards several female friends were introduced from the womens' meeting. After a short pause, one of them addressed herself to the meeting; but more particularly to those employed in husbandry, who composed a large part of the body then present. In lively and animated language she remarked to them, that the nature of their employment afforded, in a peculiar manner, an opportunity of observing the wonderful works of the creation; but, at the same time, she expressed a fear that some of them did not sufficiently, in these things, regard the Almighty and Beneficent Author of every mercy. In the recollection thereof, the words of a pious author had recurred to her memory, which were descriptive of a mind truly alive to the feelings of gratitude and adoration to the Great First Cause of all things; and are as follows:—

" He looks abroad into the varied field
" Of Nature, and tho' poor, perhaps, compared
" With those whose mansions glitter in his sight,
" Calls the delightful scenery all his own.

" His are the mountains, and the vallies his;
" And the resplendent rivers. His t' enjoy
" With a propriety that none can feel,
" But who, with filial confidence inspir'd,
" Can lift to Heaven an unpresumptuous eye,
" And smiling say, ' my Father made them all!'
" Are they not his by a peculiar right,
" And by an emphasis of interest his,
" Whose eye they fill with tears of holy joy,
" Whose heart with praise; and whose exalted mind,
" With worthy thoughts of that unwearied love
" Which plann'd, and built, and still upholds a world,
" So cloth'd with beauty, for rebellious man?"

During the time of expressing the above lines, an unusual solemnity prevailed; and although a very large number of friends was present, which might amount to two thousand, yet not the least discordant sound was heard. After the women friends had withdrawn, some discussion took place relative to the slave trade, in which it was lamented that the endeavours of friends and others, had not produced the desired effect; but, that it was still carried on with rather increasing avidity. Under these considerations, friends were called upon in the most impressive terms, to remember the oppressed Africans, in their supplications at the Throne of Mercy; and, under the weight thereof, the yearly meeting concluded to general satisfaction.

CHAPTER VI.

Philadelphia, &c.—Trenton—New-York—Burlington—Philadelphia—Newcastle—Baltimore—Washington—Richmond—Alexandria—Contrast between Pennsylvania and the States cultivated by Slaves.

I remained at Philadelphia, or in its vicinity, for some weeks after the yearly meeting; and the 13th of 5th Month, 1805, was spent at my relation's W. B. Our time passed on very agreeably in traversing his plantation, or farm, on the Banks of the Schuylkill and Perkiomy. The more I see of it, the more I am convinced that it is one of the most beautiful and healthy situations I have known, either in America or in England. The ground rising till it becomes elevated high above the banks of the rivers, commands a prospect as delightful as can well be conceived. A view of some of our Noblemen's Parks, on the more extensive scale, may give a faint idea of the prospect here seen; for even with such it is comparing small things with great ones, or putting art in competition with nature. As far as the eye can command, one wide spreading Forest is seen, interspersed with planta-

sions or farms, and sheets of water; which have a little the appearance of lawns and fish-ponds, such as are seen about the ancient seats of our nobility; but upon a scale exceeding all comparison.

5th Month, 14th to the 16th. I continued at my relation's; and, in one of our walks along the margin of the Schuylkill, I observed a neat little cottage, inhabited by a black family, to which the former owner of the plantation had given their freedom, with this cottage and a few acres of land. This little domain was managed with great economy, and afforded them a comfortable and independent livelihood. We picked up several land tortoises, a species of animal which abounds in these meadows. Here is also a great abundance of that kind of tortoise called the snapping turtle, which makes very good soup; and, as far as I am able to judge, nearly equal to that made from the sea turtle. The snapping turtles are voracious animals, destructive to young ducks and goslings, laying hold of them by the legs and dragging them under water to devour them.

5th Month, 17th. My relation kindly brought me to Philadelphia in his coach, and remained with me at our lodgings until next day; after which I

spent about a week in the company of my friends in Philadelphia.

5th Month, 24th. I put 10 hogsheads of tobacco on board the Rose, Captain Hathaway, for which I paid fourpence halfpenny per pound. The Captain offering to take with him any little matter I was inclined to put under his care, I transmitted a packet of letters, and several little articles for my family; and with them eight land tortoises, which all got safe to England. In the same vessel M. R. took her passage home, in company with an English family, and a young man from Lancaster, in Pennsylvania. They were favoured to arrive safe at Liverpool; but this poor young man, taking his passage in the Ontario, on his intended return to America, was lost at sea; the ship having never been heard of after she left Liverpool.

After parting with Capt. H. I set out for New-York, accompanied by J. J. and his sister; and having five other friends in company, we took the whole stage to ourselves, as we were all going to attend the yearly meeting in New York. On our way we passed the Delaware at Trenton, where we dined. I have remarked that some people in America have a great predilection for wearing boots, and for smoking segars. Even children of five or six years of age, are sometimes seen, in their

boots, smoking segars. At Trenton, I was entertained with the sight of a company of journeymen tailors, at the work-board, all booted as if ready for mounting a horse. This article of dress is full as expensive here as in England; yet a boot-maker told me, that he sometimes sold no less than three pairs within the winter to some individuals who earned their bread by their daily labour; and, for these, they paid 36*s.* sterling per pair. In the afternoon we passed Princetown; and, that night, lodged at Brunswick.

5th Month, 25th. We breakfasted at Elizabeth Town; and arrived at Paules-hook Ferry about noon. Here I saw a fleet of armed vessels, *i. e.* four ships and one brig. As they were full of men and guns, and the men were dressed in uniforms, they had a very warlike appearance. This fleet was just returned from the island of St. Domingo, with a very valuable cargo of coffee; and was said to have made the most successful voyage ever remembered. At the ferry we were told it was O——'s fleet, and was principally belonging to a merchant at New-York of that name, who had acquired very great riches thereby. This was a remarkable instance of the great extent to which the merchants of this country carry their mercantile concerns; yet so uncertain is trade, that this man stopped payment a few months afterwards.

We crossed the North River, and arrived at New-York to dinner; where I took up my lodgings at my old friend P. P.'s, whom I found in a weak state of health.

5th Month, 26th. I attended New-York meeting; afterwards dined at J. B.'s, in company with two friends from Canada. In the afternoon I drank tea at J. M.'s, in company with several other friends; and spent the evening at C. and E. C.'s.

5th Month, 31st. The last five days I spent in attending the yearly meeting at New-York; and on the evening of the 31st attended a Committee on Indian Affairs. This committee corresponds with the Indians, who are disposed to be instructed and assisted by friends. I observed that the communications from the Indians consisted chiefly in requests that friends would furnish them with iron-work, and workmen to assist them in building their houses and barns.

6th Month, 1st. I went to Flushing on Long Island, along with my relation T. W. and another friend. On the 3d we returned to New-York, and, in the afternoon, I set out for Philadelphia in the Amboy Packet, in company with a French merchant, his wife, and three children. They came from Bourdeaux, whence they were

just arrived. We had also on board a young man from Montego Bay, in Jamaica. The afternoon being fine and clear, the wind fair, and the company agreeable, we had a delightful sail to Amboy, being about 30 miles.

6th Month, 4th. I came to Burlington; and, after a pleasant evening spent in the family, slept at G. D.'s.

6th Month, 5th. This morning I called upon J. H. with whom I spent an hour or two very pleasantly, in company with Geo. Dillwyn. Most of the time, we sat upon the benches at his door, the weather being very fine and warm. It is very common here to have benches, facing each other, on the outside of their houses, at the doors, under the shade of trees planted in the streets; where they frequently sit enjoying the fresh breeze, and the shade. Burlington is a pleasant place in these respects; the principal street being fronted by the Delaware, has the benefit of the cool air blowing from it. This evening I arrived at Philadelphia, after a pleasant sail of 18 miles down the Delaware.

7th Month, 28th. After spending about seven weeks in Philadelphia and its neighbourhood, principally in attention to commercial engagements, I this day set out, accompanied by Edward

Wilson, for Baltimore, in the Newcastle packet-boat. We had a pleasant sail down the Delaware; and arrived at Newcastle a little before noon; 40 miles. This place has the appearance of considerable antiquity, though it is not very large; and, in the neighbourhood of it are many thorn fences, which are seldom found in America.

7th Month, 29th. We set out this morning for French-Town, by the stage, where we arrived to breakfast, 16 miles; and that place being on the banks of the Chesapeak Bay, we there met with the Baltimore Packet, in which we embarked, after our refreshment. In sailing down the Bay, the weather being fine, the Captain sent his boat along shore to collect drift wood, for the fire; and she soon returned well loaded. On board the packet, we dined, supped, and lodged, and breakfasted next morning. For all this and our passage, we paid five dollars each.

7th Month, 30th. After breakfasting on board the packet in Chesapeak Bay, we landed at Baltimore; and, passing a few miles up the river Potapsco, I spent the remainder of the day in business, and took up my lodgings at J. T.'s.

8th Month, 3d. This evening I visited Ellicot's Mills, in company with J. T. and his wife. The overseer of these mills informed me they could

grind and pack 300 barrels of flour per day. A barrel being 196lbs. or 14st. the annual returns, at 3s. per stone, would be nearly 200,000l. The stones were 7 feet in diameter.

8th Month, 6th. I left Baltimore, in company with T. M. of Sandy Springs. In the evening we reached George-Town, where he is employed, by the corporation, to fill up the deep channel of the Patowmack, on the south side of Mason's Island, in order to turn the stream of that river to the side next to George-Town, that the harbour may be deepened. Near Bladensburg we passed a Carolina Slave Merchant, with a company of slaves, men, women, and children; who all stopped at the door of the inn where we dined. Some of them appeared much dejected; and, on my questioning them, they told me they were taken from their relatives and friends by force. One of the females being known to a black man in the stage, he asked her how she came there, knowing her to be a free black. She replied, that some time since, her husband had been taken from her, and carried into the Carolinas; and that she had determined to follow him in his bondage. This appeared to be a remarkable proof of conjugal affection, and showed a high degree of sensibility: but, in thus following her husband, there is great reason to fear, from the general conduct of these Slave

Merchants, that she herself would be sold as a slave by this man; who, under pretence of taking her to her husband, would probably betray her. This night I lodged at Wm. Morgan's, in George-Town, at whose house T. Moor also lodged.

8th Month, 7th. I went to Washington city. The next day I visited Doctor Thornton, of the Patent Office, and was shown a variety of curious models. I noticed one in particular, for picking, carding, and spinning cotton, which might be wrought by a child of five or six years old; and though in but little compass, would spin 18 threads at once. In the afternoon I visited General Mason's residence on Mason's Island, which is a very beautiful spot. In this excursion I had the company of T. Moor, Samuel Brooks, and the Mayor of the city, who assisted in rowing the boat. The great officers of these cities are not above occasional offices of this kind. In the evening, I came to Wm. Morgan's, and lodged there.

8th Month, 9th. I sailed down the Patowmack to Alexandria, and took up my quarters with my kind friend and relative P. J. who had married M. L. a cousin of my brother J. L.

8th Month, 13th. I spent this day at Fredericksburg, a considerable town on the Rappahannock, to which I came in the stage yesterday. Some

business continues to be done here in tobacco; but that trade is much on the decline.

8th Month, 14*th.* I came to Richmond, through a country cultivated by black slaves; where, as a matter of course, poverty and wretchedness seem to abound. The different appearance of those States, in which slaves are employed, when compared with Pennsylvania and the other States where slavery is not permitted, is truly astonishing.

8th Month, 15*th.* I spent this day at Richmond. In the evening I walked to Manchester, over the bridge at James's River, which at this place is nearly half a mile wide. From my own observations, and the information I received from an inhabitant, Richmond appears to be a place of great dissipation; chiefly arising from the loose and debauched conduct of the white people with their black female slaves. It frequently happens here, as in other places, that the white inhabitants, in selling the offspring of these poor debased females, sell their own sons and daughters, with as much indifference as they would sell their cattle. By such means, every tender sentiment of the human breast is laid waste, and men become so degraded, that their feelings rank but little above those of the beasts of the field. In the treatment of their offspring, how far do some of the brute creation surpass them!

An active clever woman of this place, with a servant and two children, came with me in the stage part of the way to Fredericksburgh. She told me that she was a native of Edinburgh, and that her husband and family had been settled for some time in Richmond, as linen-drapers and milliners; had been successful in business, and had the prospect of a continuance of success; but, as a longer residence there, would, in their view, be attended with almost certain ruin to the morals of their children, they had determined to leave the place, and remove to a less exposed situation; where they would not be tried with the contaminating influence and effects of this unhallowed system of slavery. For an active, industrious couple, with a numerous rising family, thus to come to the resolution of quitting a lucrative business and situation, on these grounds, is, I think, a mark of best wisdom and sound judgment, and is worthy the imitation of all those who are alike circumstanced.

8th Month, 16*th*. I left Richmond in the morning; and reached the Bowling-green Tavern to dinner. The owner of the plantation on which this Tavern stands, it was said, had more than 200 slaves in his employment. I reached Fredericksburg this night. In passing along, I saw some Yams growing, at a little distance, south of Fredericksburg.

8th Month, 17th. I came this day to Alexandria. In coming we passed Mount Vernon, the habitation of the late General Washington, a little on the right, about 10 or 12 miles from Alexandria. When we came within about 5 miles of this city, the stage driver told us that before sun-rise in the morning, while it was yet rather dark, close by the place we then were at, his 4 horses suddenly stopped; but for what cause he could not conjecture. However, on giving them a smart stroke or two with the whip, they suddenly started forward, when he immediately saw a very large snake entangled amongst their legs; but, pushing on with great violence, they soon cleared themselves; and the stage drove directly over it. The sound of the horses hoofs, and the sensation he felt when the carriage passed over the snake, raised in him the idea of driving over several sheaves of wheat; and, to the best of his judgment, from the faint view he had of the reptile, he believed it to be as thick as the calf of a man's leg. The passengers were alarmed, but, on recovering from their fright, insisted upon getting out, and endeavouring to find the snake, believing that he must be disabled by the wheels of the carriage. They accordingly searched about the place, but could see nothing of him; and, as there was a stream near, they supposed he had got into it, and had floated down with the current. The senior Magistrate of

Alexandria was present in the stage, as the driver gave this account; and being well acquainted with the man, considered him worthy of credit.

8th Month, 18*th*. I attended Alexandria meeting; and, in the afternoon, drank tea with a friend from Birmingham, now well settled here with his wife and children. My home was at P. J.'s where I lodged and was kindly entertained.

The number of black slaves kept in and near Alexandria, is very great. On market days many come out of the country with fruit, vegetables, &c. and some, even girls of 10 or 12 years of age, are seen walking the streets with baskets on their heads, without any clothing. Some, both men and women, are nearly without clothing; and what little is allowed to many of them is all in rags. Their common full dress is a coarse sacking or linsey woolsey shirt and trowsers for the men; and, for the women, a long garment or a petticoat, and a short waistcoat of the same materials; both sexes go without shoes or stockings, and mostly without hats. I understood from a respectable person that farther to the South he has seen, at the houses of what are called gentlemen, the young blacks waiting at table, quite naked; without discovering any appearance of shame either in master or slave.

There is a very striking contrast between the appearance of the horses or teams in Pennsylvania,

and those in the Southern States where slaves are kept. In Pennsylvania we meet great numbers of waggons, drawn by 4 or more fine fat horses; the carriages firm and well made, and covered with stout, good linen, bleached almost white; and it is not uncommon to see 10 or 15 together, travelling cheerfully along the road, the driver riding on one of the horses. Many of these come more than 300 miles to Philadelphia, from the Ohio, Pittsburg, and other places; and I have been told by a respectable friend, a native of Philadelphia, that more than 1000 covered carriages frequently come to Philadelphia market. Indeed the appearance of them on market-days, in Market-street, which is 2 miles in length, and about 40 yards in width, is such as no stranger can have a just conception of; to say nothing of the adjoining streets, which are crowded with farmers' carts and waggons from every quarter.

The appearance of things in the Slave States is quite the reverse of this. We sometimes meet a ragged black boy or girl, driving a team consisting of a lean cow and a mule; sometimes a lean bull or an ox, and a mule; and I have seen a mule, a bull, and a cow, each miserable in its appearance, composing one team, with a half-naked black slave or two, riding or driving, as occasion suited. The carriage or waggon, if it may be

called such, appeared in as wretched a condition as the team and its driver. Sometimes a couple of horses, mules, or cows, &c. would be dragging a hogshead of tobacco, with a pivot or axel driven into each end of the hogshead, and something like a shaft attached, by which it was drawn or rolled along the road. I have seen two oxen and two slaves pretty fully employed in getting along a single hogshead; and some of these come from a great distance inland.

In the evening of this day, I had a pleasant sail up the Patowmack to George-Town, where I lodged.

CHAPTER VII.

Washington—Frederick-Town—York-Town—Columbia—Lancaster—Merion—Radnor.

19*th of* 8*th Month*, 1805. I spent this day at Washington City and George-Town; dined at Doctor Thornton's, an old school-fellow, and a descendant of Governor Pickering of Tortola. I likewise spent the evening with the Doctor at the Patent Office, from which we had a beautiful prospect down the Patowmack.

8*th Month*, 20*th*. I went in the stage from George-Town to Frederick-Town, in Maryland. At this place the death of a person of the name of Smith, was a general subject of conversation. I was informed that, in early life, he had been a transported convict from England, and had lived and wrought with the black slaves, and had taken a wife from amongst them. Since the time of his servitude expired, he had, by industry and management, acquired 70,000l. part of which he gave to his children by his black wife; and the residue, being much the largest proportion, to his white children. This man, I was told, was the principal stockholder in the Columbia Bank.

I spent two days more at Frederick-Town, being detained by the stage. Great numbers of

black slaves are kept in this part of Maryland. One farmer was mentioned to me who kept upwards of 200; and from the quantity of land he had under cultivation, there did not appear to be more than 10 acres to one slave; which of course could yield but little profit to the owner. I was told of one couple of slaves he had, who lived as man and wife, and were valued at more than 400l. on account of their stout healthy children; whom he could sell at a very high price when young. From the information I received, it appeared that breeding slaves was the best part of his business. Such is the corrupt state of things where slavery is permitted.

8th Month, 23d. I came to Hanover, in company with two persons of the name of Smith, grandsons of a friend in the ministry who formerly resided at Marlbrough, in Fairfax County, Virginia. John Woolman makes honourable mention of this friend in his journal.

8th Month, 24th. This morning we passed through York-Town, where we breakfasted. At the Assizes or Sessions, which were held at that time, a boy of about 15 years of age, was convicted of the wilful and deliberate murder of his play-fellow, a little boy 2 or 3 years younger than himself. The reason he assigned for this cruel act was, that his companion had won a few pence from him at some

game of chance. A lawyer who had attended the trial, was with us in the stage, and said that the culprit appeared unconcerned as to the issue; and when convicted, showed no emotion; but with a great deal of indifference requested that his acquaintances would attend at his execution; which they did.

At noon we came to the Susquehanna, on the opposite shore to Columbia, where we dined. This is one of the most beautiful and romantic parts of America. The river is here nearly one mile broad, with a number of beautiful little islands spread over it. What added greatly to the beauty of the scene, were the high rocks which rise from the margin of the river, and near which were seen many eagles and fish-hawks soaring in the air; the latter frequently darting into the water, where they make a prey of the fish. In rising again, it frequently happens that the eagles pursue the hawks, and compel them to let go their prize; and such is the swiftness of the eagle, that he will often dart down and seize the fish, before it reaches the water.

In the shallow parts of the river, many beautiful white herons are seen, stalking along in search of food, making a beautiful variety in the prospect.

I saw a number of large flat-bottomed boats in this river, some of which had come upwards of 300 miles, and could carry 1000 bushels of wheat. The largest of them are more than 70 feet in length, but calculated for one voyage only, and for floating down the rivers with the stream, over shallows and falls; for when they arrive at the place of their destination, they are taken in pieces and the timber is used for other purposes. Exclusive of these boats, which are called arks, and have frequently a kind of cottage upon them, in which several persons are accommodated during the voyage; there are also many large floats of timber which are so fixed together, that they appear like one large compact body, on which a small dwelling-house is built for the accommodation of a family. These floats sometimes contain several thousand feet of timber, which are conveyed in this way several hundred miles, at a very trifling expense. After crossing this beautiful river in the ferry-boat, we came to Columbia, a small new built city rising fast into importance. Here we again entered into the stage, and passing through a fine well-cultivated country, on a good turnpike-road, we came to Lancaster; which is considered the best inland town in North America, and is about 12 miles distant from Columbia.

8th Month, 25th. This was the first day of the week: and there being no meeting of friends in

Lancaster, I was induced to inquire if no friend resided there, and was informed of a person resident in the town, who was a member of our society. I called upon him and was kindly entertained by him the whole of the afternoon. After a little conversation with him, I found that he was father to one of my customers in America. I have often thought it a great privilege in our society, that such an interchange of hospitality and freedom prevails among us. It has a great tendency to smooth the path of life, especially to strangers in a strange land. In the course of conversation in this family, I found that Major Andre and Colonel Despard had both taken up their lodgings with them, when prisoners on parole to the Americans. They spoke very respectfully of Major Andre, who had so conducted himself as to gain much upon the affections of the whole family. Some of his drawings and letters were shewn to me, which they preserved with great care.

8th Month, 26th. The short time I remained in Lancaster, I found that considerable business was done in the manufactory of locks, latches, and rifle guns, all of which are esteemed to be superior to those imported from England. This day I came to Philadelphia and had the company of Judge Yates the whole of the way. In the evening, I attended the burial of C. W. a young man whom I had left but a few days before in good health.

8th Month, 31*st*. The last five days have been spent at Merion. At this place I was told that as William Penn was once coming up from Newcastle to Philadelphia, a friend in the vessel remarked that both the wind and the tide were against them; William Penn immediately replied, that "himself had been sailing against wind and tide all his life." This reply was very descriptive of the difficulties which this great man encountered in the world.

9th Month, 21*st*. The last three weeks I continued at Merion, occasionally going to Philadelphia on business. In the afternoon of this day I visited P. A. and his wife at H. Bowman's. They are an ancient couple of plain, honest friends, both in the ministry. The grandfather of the former came amongst friends in a remarkable way. He resided near the sea coast in the Jerseys, and being an active, lively young man, he used sometimes to employ himself in playing upon a violin amongst his neighbours; especially when the young people were collected to dance and make merry. After one of these occasions, as he was returning home, late in the evening, he observed a human skull lying upon the sand; which, as he passed by, caused some serious reflections; but they passed off for the present. Going that way again sometime after, the impressions were renewed, and while he was musing over the skull, which had

thus, a second time, been the means of bringing into his mind a train of serious reflections, he concluded to bury this dry bone which had so powerfully preached to him. He covered it carefully up in the earth, and went home, enjoying the pleasing reflection of having performed this last office to the remains of a fellow-creature. Such, however, were the weight and solemnity occasioned by the impressions on his mind from this circumstance, that a total change in his life and conversation succeeded; and, shortly after, he joined friends and became a valuable minister in the society. Some mention is made of this friend, I believe in Thomas Chalkley's Journal. His name was Peter Andrews.

9th Month, 29th. I still remained at Merion; and, this morning, attended meeting there. In the afternoon, I had the curiosity to take a view of a large methodist meeting, held near us, called a camp meeting; which had been continued about a week, almost night and day. The concourse of people was very great; and numbers of them, it was said, had come several hundred miles to attend the meeting. Many tents and huts were erected on the spot; and a great number of carriages of various descriptions, such as coaches, coachees, chairs, covered waggons, carts, &c. &c. were collected under the shade of a lofty forest. From some conversation I had with one of the conductors

of this assembly, I understood that great exertions had been used to preserve order, especially through the night; and, that, at ten o'clock in the evening, patroles went round the encampment to see that all were in their proper tents and places. Those who had not a birth within the camp were sent out. Their meetings had been kept up several days with almost incredible zeal, from early in the morning until late in the evening; and, even after they had withdrawn into their huts and tents, numbers of them continued in prayer through a great part of the night. It may well be supposed therefore that the preachers were a good deal exhausted; especially as their language and gestures were generally violent. Some of the most zealous would quite exhaust themselves in less than an hour; but, there being a considerable number on the stage on which they preached, their places were supplied immediately on their sitting down. I observed that a great number of Negro families attended; and many of them in handsome carriages. The whole number of persons composing this meeting was said to be 5000.

10*th Month, 3d.* I spent the last four days at Merion. We have lately had the agreeable company of divers friends, some of whom left Philadelphia on account of the yellow fever, which prevailed in the city.

10*th Month*, 4*th*. I attended Merion meeting, where we had the company of Elizabeth Cogshall and Elizabeth Bird. After meeting I spent some time with them pleasantly, at the house of a young man who had been disowned for taking up arms; but who had lately been reinstated; and his wife, who is an agreeable friend, was received into membership at the same time.

10*th Month*, 5*th*. Joseph Paul kindly took me in his carriage, to see a large encampment on the Ridge Road, where many poor persons were accommodated, who had left Philadelphia to avoid the infection of the yellow fever. Afterwards, we visited the gardens and green-houses of Wm. Hamilton, where we saw a number of plants and shrubs, natives of every quarter of the world.

10*th Month*, 10*th*. I went to Radnor monthly meeting; at which was a couple, who were about to be married; for whose accommodation the meeting at Merion was agreed to be held on 5th day, instead of 6th; and the alteration appearing eligible for a continuance, was so determined. After meeting, I dined at J. H.'s, and supped and spent the evening at O. J.'s This friend was one of those who suffered banishment on account of their supposed attachment to the British, during the

revolution. His sister told me that on William Penn's arrival in America, he lodged at her great grandfather's at Merion. At that time her grandfather was a boy of about 12 years old; and being a lad of some curiosity, and not often seeing such a guest as Wm. Penn, he privately crept to the chamber door, up a flight of steps, on the outside of the building, which was only a log-house. On peeping through the latchet-hole, he was struck with awe, in beholding this great man upon his knees, by the bed-side; and could distinctly hear him in prayer, and in thanksgiving, that he was thus provided for in the wilderness. This circumstance made an impression upon the lad's mind, which was not effaced in old age.

Friends' meeting House at Merion.

CHAPTER VIII.

Haverford — leaves Merion—Borden Town—Amboy—New-York — Hudson — Nine Partners — Quarterly Meeting—Hudson—Albany—Troy.

12*th of* 10*th Month*, 1805. I returned from Radnor to Merion, and this day attended Haverford meeting, at which were several strangers. This is one of the oldest meeting-houses in America; and at the early settlement of this meeting, friends of Philadelphia went every third first day to attend it; most of them coming on foot a distance of about ten miles. At that time nearly the whole of the road was through a shady forest. Amongst the rest, Wm. Penn used to come on horseback, and would occasionally take up a little bare-footed girl behind him, to relieve her when tired. By the early minutes of the monthly meeting, it appears that several friends were appointed to mark out a road through the woods from Philadelphia, to Haverford and Radnor meetings.

10*th Month*, 13*th*. I attended Merion meeting, at which was Sarah Harrison, who visited us at our lodgings after meeting; and we spent the afternoon with her at the widow George's.

10*th Month*, 14*th*, was spent at Merion, principally in writing to different correspondents in America.

10*th Month*, 15*th*, was employed in writing to my dear wife and the children, and to some of my relations and friends in England.

10*th Month*, 16*th*, was spent at Merion in writing, and in the very acceptable company of a family, our fellow-boarders, whom I was about to leave with regret; intending next day to set out on a visit to my cousin H. M.'s family at Hudson's, on the North River, and to my cousin J. E.'s, at Elkland's, near the head of the Susquehanna.

10*th Month*, 17*th*. This day I came to E. W.'s, and J. P. being so kind as to take me to Frankfort in his carriage, I embraced the opportunity of visiting a brother of his on the banks of the Delaware, where I spent an hour or two agreeably. Afterwards, he took me in his chaise to the stage office, whence I rode to the shore opposite Borden Town in the Mail Pilot. In crossing the Delaware to that place, I fell in company with a respectable old Scotchman, who had been amusing himself in fishing. He told me that he had sometimes had the company of General Moreau in his amusements, of whom he spoke highly, as a man of mild and agreeable manners. I spent this evening at Borden Town, the residence of the noted Thomas Payne. My lodgings being at the tavern from whence the stage set out early in the morning, I

was thrown into a mixed company of the townspeople. Being a stranger, this extraordinary pérson was introduced as a subject of conversation; but the company being of different religious and political sentiments, I found that nothing correct could be gathered respecting the character of this man, even amongst his townsmen and neighbours. Some of them asserted that he was a drunkard; others the contrary. Some asserted that he was not fit to live, and others with equal earnestness that he was an upright honest man, and kind and friendly to the poor. Perhaps all might have some ground for their assertions, by viewing different periods of his life; but what appeared the most remarkable was an observation of the landlady, who asserted her belief, that he was an enemy to American freedom, and that he was supported by Great Britain, and was the friend of that Government. In proof of her assertion, she said that he had treacherously mixed black sand in the American gunpowder, intended to be used against the English. All this, however, manifested that the mind of man is liable to be darkened and clouded by party spirit, which so much prevails in the world; and which seems inseparable from free Governments, when mankind, individually, are unwilling to come under the government of the Prince of Peace.

10th Month, 18*th*. I set out for Amboy, through the Jerseys.

10th Month, 19*th*. I came to South Amboy; some parts of the road were through a fruitful land, and others through a land almost as sandy and barren as the deserts of Arabia.

10th Month, 20*th*. I was unexpectedly detained at Amboy, the packet not arriving in time.—This being first day, and there being no meeting near the place, I spent my time in walking along the sea shore, and observing the variety of marine productions that were spread along the coast. Having my little bible, it was not the least of gratifications, occasionally to sit down upon a piece of the wreck of some stranded vessel, which the stormy ocean had cast upon the beach, and read a page or two in that instructive volume. Whilst thus employed I could not help pitying that poor man of Borden Town, whose name I have recently mentioned, for having so unwisely deprived himself of the great consolations which the Scriptures afford, by cultivating a disbelief of the truths which have been recorded for our comfort and instruction through time.—The situation of Amboy is peculiarly beautiful as to prospects. It commands a full view of the Neversink Mountains, and of the light-house at Sandy-Hook, by which vessels generally pass in going to and from New-

York and the Atlantic; particularly those in the European trade. Other vessels also come up the Raritan and the Hackinsack rivers, which add to the beauty of the scene.

10*th Month*, 21*st*. I went on board the packet for New-York, directly after a breakfast made chiefly of stewed oysters. These shell-fish abound so much here, that little children are taught to eat them to breakfast. The landlady told me, that she sometimes had 2 or 300 bushels in the cellar, at a time, in the winter season. After being on board about a quarter of an hour, we were invited by signal to touch at Perth Amboy, on the opposite shore; where we landed about ten o'clock, and took in two families for New-York. As we sailed along this Bay, I had an opportunity of seeing the oyster fishers, who were busily employed. The instruments they generally used, somewhat resembled two hay-rakes, with long iron teeth, having the handles, which are very long, pinned together about two feet from the heads of the rakes, so as to open and shut like a pair of large pincers. These instruments, which are called tongs, are opened wide when the heads are let down from the boat; and, as soon as they reach the bottom, the men close them, and the teeth of the rakes meeting drag the oysters together. By this method from one to three or four oysters are taken at a time.

In sailing from Perth Amboy to New-York, we picked up a good new boat, worth 10 or 12 guineas, which was drifting out to sea. Having been so detained at Perth Amboy, and the wind proving unfavourable, we did not arrive at New-York until after dark. As the yellow fever had for some time prevailed at New-York, I was desirous of being put on shore at Brooklyn, on Long Island; but, the night being dark with wind and rain, I could not prevail upon the Captain of the packet to land me; nor could I obtain a boat of any kind to take me over. I was therefore under the necessity of going to New-York, where all was silent and solitary; and what used to be the busiest parts, were now without an inhabitant to be seen.

Having landed at Quince's Wharf, I went along Water-street to the Fly-market Wharf, hoping to meet with the ferry-boat; but here likewise all was silence and solitude. I then went through the whole length of Fly-market, which had the appearance of having been untrodden for weeks past; the light of some lamps shewing the boarded floor to be as clean as that of a parlour. From the Fly-market, I crossed Pearl-street, into Maiden-lane, and went on to Broad-way, to the City Hotel, a large spacious inn; where I was the only guest. When I was here last, the house was crowded with company; so much had this awful visitation varied the scene in every part of this busy city. Some

of its inhabitants, with whom I had been well acquainted, had been suddenly taken away by the ravages of that dreadful disease. The next morning I left New-York, and passing through Greenwich, and over Harlem Bridge, I arrived at T. W.'s to dinner. There I spent the afternoon in company with one of the Pilots for the Sound, a healthy old man between 80 and 90 years of age, who frequently walked 20 miles a-day. In coming up to T. W.'s, I passed through Greenwich, a village to which the business of New-York, together with the banks and public offices, were removed on account of the yellow fever. The bustle and confusion occasioned thereby is not easily conceived. For the accommodation of the merchants, many temporary wooden buildings were erected.

10*th Month*, 23*d*. I accompanied T. and E. W. to West Chester meeting; and, in the afternoon, drank tea and spent a few hours with I. C.'s family, who were under affliction on account of the decease of his wife. She had been lately removed by the yellow fever, having, it was supposed, taken the infection the day previous to her coming to West Chester; to which place the family had removed for safety from the infection. The removal of this valuable friend, has been a very trying dispensation to her husband and family. If I understand right, she has left 13 children.

In conversation with her daughters, I understood that the family were not aware that her complaint was the yellow fever, until after her decease. She was preserved in so much stillness and quietness, and, apparently, under so little bodily pain during the progress of the disorder, that they had no apprehension of its being this dreadful complaint, until afterwards informed by the medical attendants. I lodged this night and the preceding at T. W.'s.

10*th Month*, 24*th*. I came down with T. W. in his chair, to Greenwich, on business. There I received letters from home, and also forwarded divers others to England, by the Centurion.

10*th Month*, 25*th*. This day and yesterday I made my home at F. T.'s, where I lodged.

10*th Month*, 26*th*. This afternoon I left F. T.'s, and went on board a Hudson packet, called the Traveller, of which Ely Bunker, a friend of Hudson, was owner and captain. As soon as the tide served, we sailed up the North River, having in company a young man from Hudson, and a young woman that was on her way to visit a sister who lay sick at Hudson.

10*th Month*, 27*th*. This and the preceding night I lodged on board the packet. In sailing along this

river, the scenery and prospects are in many places grand and beautiful in a high degree; especially in sailing by the Highlands, Stoney Point, and the Katskill Mountains. Sometimes, for a considerable distance, the rocks rise from the edge of the river, in bold, lofty precipices, similar to those of Middleton Dale, in Derbyshire; and the river, in many parts, is from one to two miles over. This gives room for the vessels, which navigate the river, to pass and repass each other without danger; although the number is said to be upwards of 1600. They consist chiefly of sloops of about 70 tons burthen; yet large ships are occasionally seen as high up as Hudson's and Athens, being about 150 miles up the country. In sailing on this river, we sometimes had the sight of 15 or 20 vessels within a short distance of us; and Captain Bunker mentioned that he had sometimes seen 30 in company. Although this river is pretty straight, in general, yet it frequently winds its way between lofty rocks and mountains, which cause a variety of currents in the wind, so as to require a good deal of care and management to work the vessels to advantage. It was amusing sometimes to observe that, while we lay becalmed on one side of the stream under a lofty rock, the vessels which happened to be on the contrary side, would skim past us like an arrow, with a fair wind, leaving us far behind; and at the same time the company would divert themselves at our difficulties as they glided

past; but, before we got many miles, it sometimes happened that the tables were turned; and the winds would favour us to get before those who had so recently derided us. To persons disposed to moralize, there was somewhat instructive in these changes of scene; as we may not unfrequently observe similar occurrences in our passage through life.

10*th Month*, 28*th*. I arrived at Hudson early in the afternoon, and paid for my passage, of about 150 miles, one dollar and a half; and was charged three quarters of a dollar per day for board and liquor during the voyage. As we were about leaving the sloop, a boy came on board, and abruptly told the young woman, our fellow-passenger, that her sister, whom she was come to see, had just breathed her last. This proved more than the poor girl could bear; and she was not in a situation to leave the vessel while I staid. It was a great pity that more caution was not observed in conveying such afflictive intelligence. In stepping ashore at Hudson, one of the first persons I met with was George Bunker, the first mate of the ship in which I came over to America, whose family reside here. He kindly sent his son as my guide to T. C.'s, whence I went that evening to H. M.'s, and lodged at his house on the banks of Claverick Creek.

10*th Month*, 29*th*. I spent this day pleasantly at Sunnyside, the residence of a relation, and went with him over his farm. He has purchased 300 acres of land, with a dwelling-house and barn, for 900*l*. sterling. The estate runs near a mile on the banks of a river, which is stored with plenty of fish, and which passes into the North River about five miles below. On the opposite side of the farm, there is a good turnpike-road, leading to Hudson, &c. About 100 acres are cleared from wood, and are in a state of cultivation; the remaining 200 acres being wood land, are esteemed the most valuable. There are about 20 acres of meadow near the river. This land is very rich and productive; and the whole of the estate, if in many parts of Yorkshire, would be thought good and valuable land: inferior, I believe, is sometimes sold for 100*l*. per acre.

10*th Month*, 30*th*. This morning I walked to the residence of H. M. jun. near his mill on Claverack Creek. At this mill is a fall of about 30 feet, over one of the most rugged rocks I ever saw. In England the strata of rocks commonly lie horizontally, but here they are nearly perpendicular, forming many rugged points and pinnacles, over which the water is thrown with no little foam and noise. After dining, and spending a few hours very pleasantly, we returned to Sunnyside in the evening.

10th Month, 31st. This day I came to Hudson meeting, in company with as many of H. M.'s family as could ride in their coachee, a handsome carriage drawn by two horses. After meeting I dined at the house of a worthy elder. In conversation he gave me a little history of H. B. whose near neighbour and friend he had been for many years; even for some time before she appeared as a minister. Her first appearances, he observed, were very acceptable, and in a good degree of humility. About that time he accompanied J. T. on a visit to her, who expressed his belief that she was rightly called, and encouraged her in the exercise of her gift. This circumstance tended to open her way more fully in the minds of friends, and her communications became more frequent, and were enlarged. Notwithstanding this, the friend observed to me, that he very often had his fears on her account, and sometimes imparted them to her. About the time she applied for her certificate to visit England, he felt more forcibly her danger, and that it would be increased by her introduction to the cities of Europe; and it was some time before he could determine to sign her certificate; but the fear of appearing singular, outweighed his better feelings, and he accordingly signed it. Notwithstanding the very fallacious sentiments she had propagated, I felt charity and good-will towards her; and called to see her husband; she being from home.

11*th Month*, 1*st*. I spent this day pleasantly at Sunnyside. In the morning I went out with my cousin Charles into the woods, and caught an American hare in a hollow tree; but we were obliged to hew down the tree before we could come at the prize. The American hare is not like either the hare or the rabbit of England, but has the appearance of a mixture of both. When the poor creature was taken, it cried like an infant.

11*th Month*, 2*d*. I remained at my relation's, and, in the afternoon, accompanied my cousin Samuel on the water, with a design of taking a minx, but we were disappointed.

11*th Month*, 3*d*. I attended Hudson meeting, and afterwards visited H. B.'s family from England, in company with my relations.

11*th Month*, 4*th*. I set out for Nine Partners Quarterly Meeting, accompanied by Charles Marriott and three of his sisters. We took our provisions with us in the coachee, and found the innkeepers very cheerfully spread a table, with a cloth and knives and forks, being well satisfied with the profit on the feed of our horses and the little liquor we drank. This being the general practice, it makes travelling more easy as to expense; for the whole the innkeeper had to receive

of us, being a company of 5 or 6, was not more than half a crown at dinner. By retail, a glass of brandy or rum and water, such as is commonly called for in England, is charged at the inns 3¼d. Although the means of intoxication are more easily attained than in England, yet I think, on the whole, that all classes are more sober here than in my native land. The frequent elections have a strong tendency to promote intemperance; but as a seat in the legislature in this country, is not, in its consequences, so lucrative as in England, there is not the same inducement for corruption and intemperance. This evening we reached Jonathan Marriott's, and lodged there.

11*th Month, 5th.* We continued our rout and reached T. M.'s to dinner, where we spent the afternoon, and lodged at night. This friend made respectful mention of Tho. Colley, whose companion he was for some time in his travels in this country. During the Revolution, T. M. with some other friends, was taken prisoner by the British, and confined a long time on board a prison ship. Whilst there, he employed himself in making a variety of little articles in wood, some of which he showed me. They were very neatly executed, and bore testimony that they had been made, rather to pass on time than to earn wages. In one of these memorials of his captivity, he had

a quantity of tea, which had been gathered in the woods about his dwelling. It had much the appearance and flavour of common bohea tea.

11*th Month, 6th.* I attended Nine Partners' Quarterly Meeting. At this meeting there were three friends in the gallery, sitting near together, whose ages united made about 300 years. After meeting, we spent an hour or two in the school for friends' children, where the teachers kindly brought forward a few of their best readers, both boys and girls, and gave us a specimen of their abilities in that branch of learning. Some of them read well, and did credit to the institution. Amongst the teachers, I observed a young couple, who had been married some time: the husband was between 17 and 18 years old, and the wife a little older, but not much. One consequence of such early marriages is, that many generations are frequently seen living at the same time. The children of a friend of my acquaintance, John Biddle, of Philadelphia, are the seventh generation; the female head of which family was a friend then living. In the afternoon I visited T. R. and his wife, in whose company we spent half an hour pleasantly. After leaving them, we set out for Stamford quarterly meeting, and lodged at A. S.'s.

11*th Month, 7th.* Came to P. U.'s, where I lodged. Here I saw several articles very neatly

painted, and which appeared to me neater and more lively than oil painting, and which, I was informed, consisted of nothing but the colouring substance ground down with curds. Here I also saw a quantity of sewing silk made in this country, and produced from silk worms raised in Mansfield, in Connecticut; in which place upwards of ten tons of silk had been produced the last year. In the afternoon of this day we visited M. C. at his farm, which is one of the neatest and best conducted I have seen. There I saw a ram from the Straits of Magellan, which had been presented to him by his brother Captain H. who had brought it from thence. The animal was of great strength, and much larger than any English sheep. He had two large horns standing upwards, somewhat like those of a goat; and two others growing from near the roots of the former, twisted like those of other sheep. His colour was black, and his wool of a coarse quality. Afterwards we visited Captain S. C. at his farm, which is, I believe, a very good one; and it has an excellent house and good accommodation, and is very pleasantly situated. On our way this friend met and passed us, with a waggon load of slaughtered hogs for the next country store; but he soon returned, and we supped and spent a few hours very pleasantly with him and his wife. As Captain C. was the commander of the Fortitude, in which I came over to America the first time, in company with Thomas Scattergood, this visit

afforded a pleasing opportunity for talking over a variety of circumstances that occurred during our voyage.

11*th Month*, 8*th*. I attended Stamford quarterly meeting. From my observations here and in other meetings, in New-York State in particular, I thought some friends, active in the discipline, suffered loss, by placing too high a stamp on a coarse, homely appearance in dress and furniture, without sufficiently coming under that ameliorating influence which draws out of any reliance on particular forms of dress and furniture. Truth and sound sense lead into neatness, decency, and moderation in these respects; but extremes do harm. By keeping the eye and attention constantly fixed too much on outward things, the better part is in some danger of being neglected. In the evening we returned to J. M.'s, where we lodged that night; and the next morning set out for Sunnyside, where we arrived safe in the evening.

11*th Month*, 10*th*. I attended Hudson meeting. Afterwards dined and spent a few hours with T. C. a valuable public friend; and, in the evening, returned to my relations. The three following days were spent pleasantly in their family. A part of the time was occupied in taking two drawings of the house, &c. &c. intended as a present for my cousin's sister in England, which will give her friends there some idea of American scenery.

11*th Month*, 14*th*. I attended Hudson meeting, and afterwards dined and spent a little time with Captain R. B. in his family. In the afternoon, accompanied by several of H. M.'s family, and E. C. I went across the North River to Athens. After spending about an hour there, I took leave of these agreeable young friends, and went on board the sloop, called the First Counsellor, for Albany. The time I spent at my cousin M.'s, was pleasanter to me than any I have passed in this land; and his house was the most like home.

11*th Month*, 15*th*. I slept last night on board the packet; and this day arrived safe at Albany, after a pleasant sail up Hudson River, on the banks of which are many beautiful prospects. Albany has more the appearance of an English town, than any I have seen in America. Some of the streets are narrow and irregular, and many of the houses are old. On approaching the city, in sailing up the river, the roofs of many of the buildings, from being covered with tin plates instead of slate, exhibit a very singular and glittering appearance in the sun. I lodged this night at the coffee-house in Albany.

11*th Month*, 16*th*. This day I rode up to Troy, on B. S.'s horse, which he was so kind as to furnish me with, to White's Town, near Utica. Troy is a beautiful city, and improving rapidly. It is

already of considerable extent, although, like Hudson, of but few years standing. Divers of the steeples and towers of their public buildings, being covered with tin plates, as at Albany, gives the place a very splendid appearance. I lodged this night at Troy, having had the company of a friend from New-York, in the evening.

11*th Month*, 17*th*. I attended the meeting at Troy in company with the before-mentioned friend. Here is a very neat meeting-house, kept clean and in good repair. There is something not quite right, or at least something that produces very unpleasant feelings and reflections, in suffering meeting-houses to become dirty and out of repair. We sometimes judge of the estimation in which people hold their guests by the room assigned for their reception and entertainment. What those people think who suffer their places for worship to remain a scene of dirt and ruin, whilst perhaps their own habitations are superfluously elegant, I cannot comprehend; I fear it bespeaks their having no very high idea of the Divine Majesty, to whose service they profess to appropriate such buildings. This meeting-house at Troy, I was informed, was built chiefly by two female friends, whose husbands had sometime before been disowned for dealing in spirituous liquors; this traffic being contrary to the rules of friends in New-York State. Those persons not seeing the propriety of the rule, or not choosing to

forego the profits of this branch of their trade, had suffered themselves to be disunited. At the same time they declared that although friends disowned them, they would not disown their friends. Since their separation they have attended friends meetings for worship; and, being people of property, they have, on all occasions, encouraged their wives to be generous in their contributions towards the necessary expenses of the society. I was told that in this instance their two wives had furnished the means of defraying nearly the whole expense of building this handsome meeting-house. In the afternoon I parted with J. B. and set out for Schenectady on the Mohawk River. I arrived there early in the evening where I lodged. This day I sent letters to my dear wife by J. B. to be forwarded from New-York.

CHAPTER IX.

Genesee Country—Utica—Brothertown—Indian Tale—The Orchard—Indian Inn—Lakes Skaneateles, Owasco, Seneca, and Canandarque—An Atheist—Holland Land Company—Prairies.

18*th of* 11*th Month*, 1805. I crossed the Mohawk river, and travelled about 30 miles on the Genesee Turnpike. Having company I stopped with them at an inn, where we lodged. This inn does no credit to the country.

11*th Month*, 19*th*. I was joined by an agreeable young man from Hudson, of the name of Osborne, who is in the practice of the law. He had also in company with him a respectable tradesman from Balls-town Springs; so we travelled along pleasantly through the romantic valley of the Mohawk, and, in our journey, saw a few straggling Indians climbing up the mountains. In the evening we came to the smaller falls of that river, where the navigation is aided by a number of well constructed locks. The fall is about 70 feet. Here is a pretty little town having some good inns, and standing in a most beautiful and romantic situation, somewhat resembling Matlock; but the scenery is more rugged and stupendous.

Here we lodged; and the next morning, the 20th of 11th Month, we set out, along the German

Flats, to Kerseymere, where we breakfasted at a very good inn, although about 200 miles inland. In travelling this road, we sometimes observe vestiges of the devastation formerly made, through the instigations of the English or French Governments, by the Indians, as they were prevailed upon, sometimes by one power and sometimes by the other, to join in their wars and quarrels. How degrading that men, placed in authority, and professing to be the followers of Christ, should be thus employed in working upon the simplicity of the poor Indians! In the afternoon we came to Utica, an improving place, of considerable business, a little distance from Fort Schuyler. In the evening I came to B. S.'s, where I lodged and left the horse which his son so kindly lent me at Albany; having replaced him with one I bought at Fort Schuyler.

11*th Month*, 21*st*. This day I passed through Clinton, where I dined; and, in the evening came to an Indian village, called Brothertown. Here I was comfortably accommodated at the house of an Indian, whose name was Obadiah Scipio. His wife Elizabeth, is the daughter of an Indian Chief of the name of Fowler. She was a personable woman and of an expressive countenance, and was very industrious. Her dairy produced excellent cheese and butter, notwithstanding a great part of her time was employed in spin-

ning for the family apparel, which was very decent. It was mostly prepared for the weaver by her own household; and, whilst I was in the house, a female weaver of the village, brought in a piece of cloth made from yarn spun in this family, which was such as would have done credit to any female in England. This reputable Indian couple had four fine healthy children, who sat by the fire; and, though of a copper colour, their countenances were far from unpleasing. Their names were Denis, Calvin, Cinthia, and Celinda.

The schoolmaster of this Indian village, who is paid by friends, introduced me to a chief of the name of Hendricks, with whom I had some conversation; and we sat about an hour by the fire-side of a pretty large family of Indians, where it was pleasant to see the spinning-wheel go briskly round. There were 16 or 18 Indians round the fire; the older part of the family sat on a bench in front, and the little Indians on the ground on each side. The fire was made at the end of the building, and the smoke found its way through the roof, without the aid of a chimney. The walls and roof were hung with ears of Indian corn, and other winter provisions. It is difficult to describe my feelings, on sitting down with an Indian family in this way. In a sympathising

mind, sensations of pity and compassion will predominate. On the other hand, it is not unlikely that a similar feeling may prevail in the breasts of these children of the forest, towards those who may consider themselves as raised far above them in education and civilized life. It is remarkable that an Indian boy or girl is rarely found willing to change native habits, for those of towns and cities; but there are many instances, I am told, of those who are called civilized people, assimilating their manners with the Indian's; and of giving their mode of life the preference. Man, as man, is a strange and incomprehensible being when left to himself; whether in what is called a savage or a civilized state. In either, when so left, he stands equally a ready instrument, in the hand of the common enemy of the peace and happiness of the world.

I spent the remainder of this evening by Scipio's fire-side, and was accommodated with a good bed at night, on which I slept comfortably. Both the sides and ceiling of that part of the building in which I lodged, were covered with ears of Indian corn in the husk; which, to me, had a novel but not an unpleasant appearance.

11*th Month*, 22*d*. I visited the Indian schoolmaster and his school, and was presented with a few specimens of writing. Here I met with a

little poem on an Indian boy, who was sent to Haverford college for his education, which I thought worth copying, it being founded on facts. It is as follows:—

From Susquehanna's farthest springs,
Where savage tribes pursue their game,
His blanket ty'd with yellow strings,
An Indian of the forest came.

From council grave the fathers rose,
Viewing the hopeful youth with joy;
To Ha'rford's Hall, o'er wastes of snow,
They sent their tawny-coloured boy.

Awhile he wrote, awhile he read,
Awhile he learnt the grammar rules;
An Indian savage, so well bred,
Much credit promis'd to the schools.

Some said he would in law excel;
And some in physic thought he'd shine;
Others, who knew him passing well,
Hop'd he might prove a sage divine:

But those of more discerning eye,
Could then far other prospects show,
As oft he threw his Virgil by,
To wander with his dearer bow.

The tedious hours of study spent,
The drowsy lecture haply done,
He to the woods a hunting went;
But sigh'd to see the setting sun.

The shady bank, the murm'ring stream,
The woody wilds, his heart possess'd;
The dewy lawn, his morning dream,
In fancy's gayest colours dress'd.

"And why," he cry'd "did I forsake
"My native woods, for gloomy walls;
"The silver stream, the limpid lake;
"For these dull books and college halls?

"A little could my wants supply:
"Can wealth or honour give me more?
"Or will my father's God deny
"The humble treat he gave before?

"Where Nature's ancient forests grow,
"The flowering laurel never fades;
"There is my heart; and I must go,
"And die amidst my native shades."

He spoke, and to the western springs,
Stripp'd of his gown, his way he bent;
His blanket tied with yellow strings,
This native of the forest went.

Returning to his native plain,
The Indians welcom'd him with joy;
The Council took him home again,
And bless'd their tawny-colour'd boy.

From the Indian village of Brother Town, I came to another settlement of theirs, called the Orchard. Many of their habitations are formed principally of the bark of trees, attached to posts, which are fixed in the ground; the roofs being

also of bark; but as it is taken off the trees in broad pieces, they contrive to make a pretty warm dwelling. A few chiefs, and others, have good houses of wood, well furnished; and some of the Indians, being very good workmen, and having complete sets of tools, I have seen houses of their building superior to many in England.

As the whole of this day's journey lay amongst the Indians, whose habitations are pretty numerous in this quarter, I had a fair opportunity of forming some judgment of the progress they have made in the useful arts of civilized life; and I confess it is my opinion, that many in these villages, are further advanced in this respect, and enjoy more of the comforts of life, than many of the inhabitants of the remote parts of Great Britain and Ireland.

In passing by one of their habitations, I noticed the Indian manner of preparing deer skins for use. After taking off the hair, they sew up the skin like a bag; and one end being suspended by a support, the lower end is brought close over a vessel, containing a small fire, of green wood, at the bottom. The carbonic acid ascending with the smoke, so impregnates the skin, that it becomes a durable and elastic leather; very suitable for their shoes, or moccasons, and other useful purposes. This operation was going forward under the piazza of a very good frame-

house; and, from the appearance of the inhabitants, I suppose the master was a chief of the first order. Upon his head he had a very grotesque kind of cap, much resembling a lofty antique helmet. His daughter, who appeared to be a girl about 13 years old, had a very pleasing Indian countenance; and her arms were ornamented with silver bracelets of considerable breadth, both above and below the elbow. Though her dress was entirely in the Indian fashion, with moccasons, leggins, blanket, &c.; yet, being neat, clean, and of finer materials than usual, she had not an inelegant appearance. These people understood a little English; but, at several of their habitations, where I called in the course of the day, they either could not or would not understand what I said. Some of the younger boys and girls laughed immoderately, on my inquiring of them the road; but without being able, seemingly, to give me any other answer. As I went along, I met with two clever-looking Indian young men, carpenters, having their tools with them. And under the piazza of a commodious Indian dwelling, I saw, hung up in neat order, the harness and yokes of horses and oxen. There was also a good farm yard surrounded with barns and stables, the whole having every appearance of good management.

In the evening I joined my old companion again on the Genesee road; having parted with him in

going to B. S.'s. This night we took up our lodgings at a very good inn, kept by a Doctor Stockden. Although in the midst of the Oneida Indians, and 300 or 400 miles inland from Philadelphia or New-York, the room in which I slept was elegantly furnished. It had an excellent bed, &c. the floor was spread with a good carpet, and the curtains of the windows and of the bed were of smart Manchester print. I observed several stout Indian men sitting in the bar room; but they were not suffered to get intoxicated, which I thought was greatly to the Doctor's credit, as many of the tavern keepers supply them to excess.

11*th Month*, 23*d*. We set out early and came to a large good inn, belonging to an Oneida Indian, who has assumed the name of John Denny. This is a large brick house, having four good rooms, and a spacious passage and staircase on the ground floor. The rooms were not less than 18 feet by 20 feet, lofty and well finished. He had an offer of 82*l*. 2*s*. 6*d*. a year rent for it, or one dollar per day, which he had accepted. This house of Denny's, and that belonging to Stockden, were built by Indian workmen, and do them great credit. Denny has two daughters, one of whom was lately married to a German, a respectable farmer; and her father, according to a promise he made, gave him one bushel of dollars as her portion; and, I was told, he sometimes says, that

if his other daughter marries a prudent respectable young man, he will give her two bushels of dollars for her portion.

The Genessee turnpike road passes through a large tract of land belonging to this Indian; and has so much raised the value of it, that he has sold some small lots near the road, as high as 6l. sterling per acre, which is a great price in such a remote situation.

As I sat in John Denny's house, I was told by an intelligent person of the family, that building so good a house, and making such improvements had nearly cost him his life, by raising the envy and indignation of the neighbouring chiefs. Under the influence of these unworthy passions, they had called him before one of their council fires, and informed him that they had taken his proceedings into consideration, and were determined that he should leave the improvements he had made, and remove into some other part of the country; that they had observed he was become proud, like the white people; that the house he had built was very unbecoming an Indian; and that he must quit it without further delay. In reply, he told them that he was ready to comply with the orders of the chiefs of his nation, provided they would make him satisfaction for the great expense he had been at; but not otherwise. The

council broke up without any thing further being done at that time.

Shortly after another council was held by the chiefs; and a messenger was sent to the house requiring his attendance; but, fearing some violence was intended, he refused to comply. This refusal irritated the chiefs so far that they immediately sent out four warriors, with orders to put him to death; but, observing them as they approached the house, he put himself in a posture of defence; and, being joined by his brother and two white persons who happened to be in the house, they were able to make such a defence, that, after a sharp contest, in which both sides suffered severely, the warriors were compelled to fly, covered with blood, being grievously wounded. Thus circumstanced, he applied for protection to the government of the United States; and abjuring his allegiance to the Oneida nation, and taking the oaths of allegiance to the United States, he became a citizen thereof. In consequence of this conduct, an officer of the United States duly apprised the Oneida chiefs that John Denny was now become a citizen thereof, and of course was under the protection of that government; and that the government was determined to protect him. The officer also stated, that if the Oneida nation committed any further outrage against Denny, it would be considered as a breach of the treaty of peace and amity then

subsisting between them, and they might take the consequences, which would fall very heavily upon them. Since this period, he has not been disturbed by the Indians; but is going quietly forward with the improvement of his lands, which are rising rapidly in value.

My companion, who had come with me from near Skenectady, having some business with John Denny, the Indian, respecting a mill seat which he wished to purchase, I left him, and pursued my way on the Genesee road. In the evening I reached Moss's tavern, in company with an agreeable person, whom I met with soon after leaving John Denny's house. In travelling along this day, I saw some wild deer cross the road. They appeared more light and active than those in the parks of England; and, in bounding along, seemed almost as light as air, being at that time pursued by a hunter's dog. Here they are hunted for food, and not for sport, as in England.

11*th Month*, 24*th*. I travelled along the Genesee turnpike, and passed many fine tracts of land, covered with beech, the sugar maple, &c. &c. Much of the land in these parts, I believe, could scarcely be sold for 10s. per acre, to be paid for in cash; and yet, in the neighbourhood of many principal towns in Great Britain, would be thought cheap at 100l. per acre. From the many

local advantages of soil, climate, &c. I think it is very probable that the long-extended line of the Genesee turnpike-road, may, in a few years, be as thickly inhabited as some parts of Europe are at this time. In the afternoon I refreshed myself and horse at a comfortable inn on the outlet of the Lake Skaneateles, which forms a sort of mill-dam, covering a space of about 3 miles by 15. It was pleasant to observe, on this outlet, a number of mills, sufficient to do the work of some thousands of Virginia slaves. It is greatly to be lamented that the absurd policy of the Southern States, has placed these poor creatures as a barrier against every improvement in mechanics, &c. Vice as well as virtue brings its own reward; but the sufferings of those poor objects, on whom this false policy of the vicious exerts its baneful influence, are much to be lamented; and a truly feeling mind will deeply sympathize with the unhappy sufferers, thus deprived of every outward consolation that can make an existence in the world desirable.

Some of the mills were employed in the manufactory of cloths. On the banks of this lake are many delightful situations, which would be highly valued in a country like England. On every side they descend with a bold slope, and are generally covered with fine timber, excepting here and there an insulated plantation, where the ground is

cleared. These cultivated farms add greatly to the beauty and variety of the scenery. After taking some refreshment at an inn in the village, which is close by the lake, I again mounted my horse, and, in the evening, came to an improving town, and took up my quarters at Bostwick's Tavern.

11*th Month*, 25*th*. After passing by the Lake Owasco, I arrived at Cayuga, where I breakfasted at a very good inn. Cayuga is situated at the outlet of the lake of that name, where there is a bridge over the lake 1700 yards in extent, which I passed after paying 13½d. toll. I was informed that on the setting in of the frost, the preceding winter, more than 1500 sledges, loaded with produce, passed this bridge in one day. This lake is nearly 40 miles in length, and about 4 in breadth, and opens an extensive communication with New-York, by joining the Mohawk and North Rivers, with the exception of a short portage or carrying-place, where the vessels cannot pass.

In the evening I came to Geneva, a handsome town, situated on a high ground on the banks of Lake Seneca. This lake also extends about 40 miles in length, and generally from 3 to 5 miles in breadth; and is navigated by sloops. On inquiry I found that land sells here from 13s. 6d. to 27s. per acre, though of very good quality. There

being a bold shore all along this lake, there are, as may well be conceived, many beautiful situations on its banks.

This night I lodged at Powel's Tavern, in Geneva, which is, in every respect, a most excellent inn, and capable of accommodating a large number of guests. At this inn, I met with an agreeable and entertaining young man, with whom I spent the evening.

11*th Month*, 26*th*. This day I passed the outlet of Lake Canandarque, and the town of that name. The lake is nearly equal in magnitude to Lake Seneca, and the town extends to its borders. These lakes abound with a variety of fresh-water fish, particularly salmon and salmon-trout; and, what is a little extraordinary, the latter are much larger than the former, frequently weighing from 70 to 80lbs. each.

In the evening I came to General Hall's Tavern, where I was well entertained by him and his family. The General, though an innkeeper, stands very high in the estimation of his countrymen. In the Revolution, though very young, he was a Sergeant; and, having little or no property, he has been raised to the rank of a General on account of his good conduct, and he is now acquiring wealth.

11th Month, 27th. After leaving General Hall's, I crossed the Genessee River, and soon came to an Indian village, where I called at one or two dwellings, wishing to have some conversation with the inhabitants; but we were unable to make each other understand.

Before crossing the river, I passed through Hartford, where are several good inns.

In the course of the day I met with many Indians; and after dining at Ganier's Tavern, I came to Beamus's Tavern, where I lodged. The last 5 or 6 miles of my way lay in a line through the thick forest; the roads, in many parts where the ground is soft, being formed of the straight trunks of trees, laid close to each other across the road, and then covered with earth or gravel; but in some parts the latter is neglected, and the path lies over the bare timber.

At the last-mentioned inn I met with what I had often heard of, but seldom, if ever seen, a professed atheist, who openly advocated his opinions. To all appearance he was sober; yet his arguments were extremely weak; indeed the poor man seemed to be labouring under great mental darkness. Although this was a season of the year in which thunder and lightning are not common; yet, it was very remarkable, that during the time the

atheist was delivering his opinions, the thunder rolled over our heads in an awful manner, accompanied with vivid flashes of lightning; and, as we were surrounded with an almost boundless forest, a most solemn effect was produced. This, however, he seemed not to regard. I was not disposed to think uncharitably of any one, on account of his opinions respecting religion; yet I confess I was not a little perplexed, in my endeavours to make out what could be this man's motives, for propagating his cold and comfortless doctrines; and was not able to devise any common ground of action, unless it were a desire to gain celebrity, even through absurdity. I am aware that it is not in any man's power to command his religious opinions; yet a great deal depends on our cultivating, or rejecting such as offer themselves to our notice. In considering the character of this poor atheist, who, I am told, is a man of good moral conduct, I am ready to think that some have suffered loss, under the apprehension that it is of little consequence what our religious opinions are, provided a good moral conduct is observed; as if religion and morality were the same thing. But, alas! notwithstanding a truly religious character will ever be found a character of clean moral conduct; yet, as in the case of this deluded individual, some moral characters may be found, who can even deny the God who made them, and thus shut

up the fountain of every mental consolation; yea, even of hope itself.

The Indian town I passed through is called Cannawagus.

11*th Month*, 28*th*. This day I passed through Batavia; and, near this place, met an Indian with his dog, driving a flock of sheep before him of about 30 or 40 in number. In the course of the day I met several hunting parties of Indians, and came to Vandeventer's Tavern in the evening; which I spent with one of the Holland Company's Surveyors. He and his companions had been occupied in the woods, more than three months, and had not, in all that time, slept in a house or on a bed. He was a young man of stability, very agreeable, and well informed. The tract of land they were surveying, was purchased by some persons in Holland, and is therefore called the Holland-land-Purchase. It consists of 3,500,000 acres, for which they paid at the rate of 1½d. per acre. The principal proprietor is Schimmelpennick. This land they are now selling from 9s. to 27s. per acre, but purchasers may be accommodated with the money remaining at interest, provided they settle upon the purchase, and improve the land. By their books of surveys, I observed that they meted out the tract into divisions and ranges, which are numbered; a square of about 10 miles making

a township; and these townships being subdivided into lots for farms. The maps describe every stream and mountain, the quality of the land in each division, and the timber upon it, in a very neat and accurate stile. This surveyor, by living so much in the woods, had acquired a good deal of the Indian air in his dress, wearing leggins and moccasons, as is the manner of the Indians, with whose company he was sometimes obliged to be contented.

11*th Month*, 29*th*. This day I passed over a large extent of country, of a very unusual appearance in America. It consisted of what are called prairies, or pastures. These are large tracts of land, some miles over, where the trees have all been levelled with the ground, by some violent wind or hurricane; and which the Indians, by occasionally setting fire to the dry grass, &c. have kept clear for the greater convenience of hunting; and also for planting and grazing. The large trees thus blown down, drag up with their roots considerable quantities of earth, which, as the tree decays away leave a little mound, with a cavity on that side of it where the earth was torn up. This rugged appearance of the earth through the whole extent of these prairies, is a convincing proof of the manner in which the ground has been cleared.

In riding along these pastures, I met several parties of Indians, who, from the quantity of their baggage, seemed to be pretty wealthy, having several loaded horses. Thus far I have not met with the least rudeness or improper behaviour from these people; though I have several times passed individuals, as well as large companies of them, when I have been without a companion, and might have been an easy prey.

CHAPTER X.

Buffalo Town—Fenning's Tavern—Falls of Niagara—Black Creek—Fort Erie—Batavia—Vandeventer's Inn—Ganser's Tavern—Lake Seneca. Tiaga Point—Eldridge's Tavern—Elkland's—Muncy—Cattawessy—Roaring Creek—Maiden Creek—Bethlehem—Falmouth—Merion.

29th, 11th Month, 1805. In riding along yesterday, a few miles from Buffalo Creek, I thought I could very distinctly hear the noise of the Falls of Niagara, although then about 24 miles from that stupendous cataract. The distance at which the people in these parts say the Falls may be heard, when the wind and other concurring circumstances are favourable, is almost incredible. I met with a reputable looking farmer, driving a team of four fine oxen upon the road, who told me, with all the gravity of a man speaking the truth, that he sometimes heard them very plainly at his residence, 40 miles distant from them; when the wind was favourable, or the air calm and serene. Last night I came to Crow's tavern in Buffalo Town, on Buffalo Creek, just upon its outlet into Lake Erie. Crow, the keeper of this inn, told me that in calm weather, or when the wind suited, the noise of the Falls was generally heard in Buffalo; which is a distance of 20 miles from them. In this place is commonly a number of Indians, many of them being settled in the neighbourhood, some of whom are accounted clever

farmers. I saw one of these, of the name of Little Billy, a chief, accompanied by his squa, going into a merchant's warehouse, with whom they did business; and I was told, that this Indian raised more horses and horned cattle than any other farmer in the neighbourhood; and had, by this business, acquired considerable property.

11*th Month*, 30*th*. After breakfasting at Buffalo Town, I crossed the Rapids, about three miles below Lake Erie. These Rapids are a very considerable River, being at this place nearly one mile over, and conveying a vast body of water, which passes in its course from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario. I observed, as I rode along, a number of large fishes that were thrown on shore; and saw many ravens hovering about and devouring them. In travelling upon the banks of the Rapids, for many miles, the roaring of the Falls is heard resembling distant thunder. Being in Upper Canada, which is under our own government, it felt to me something like being in England, and occasioned a pleasing sensation. Here I observed a number of good farm-houses; the pastures and the wheat looked remarkably fresh and green, and a large fine herd of cattle were grazing in the fields. In conversation I found that many of the inhabitants are of German or French descent. In the afternoon I came to Fleming's Tavern at Chippaway, a town on the Creek of that

name. Here is a block-house fortification, at which an English garrison is stationed. From the windows of this tavern, clouds of mist are seen rising from the Falls; and the noise of them is so loud, that a person seems to be close upon them, although they are nearly three miles distant. I was informed by several of Fenning's family, that the concussion occasioned by the descent of so large a body of water, is such, that in a still summer's evening, a constant tremor of the earth is perceptible; and the loose glass in the windows is so shaken as to produce considerable noise.

12*th Month*, 1*st*. I lodged last night at Fenning's Tavern, where I had as good accommodation as could be desired. In this family I met with a young man, who had his education in our society, and is a commissioner or surveyor under the English government, for the disposal of lands to new settlers. This young man kindly offered me his company and assistance, in visiting the curiosities in this neighbourhood. However it being first day, and there being no meeting near, I preferred spending the forenoon alone. Therefore, immediately after breakfast, I walked down to the Falls by myself; the tremendous noise, with the volumes of spray and mist arising from them, being a sufficient guide to the spot. The first view of this wonderful cataract, is from the principal road, which, though not the most complete,

is perhaps as beautiful as any; but being from a situation which is level with the river above the Falls, a considerable part of the cataract is hid from the eye. After taking a circuit of about a mile, the path leads down a steep precipice, which is descended with considerable difficulty, and not without the aid of a long ladder, placed there by a neighbouring planter, as well for his own convenience, as for that of strangers. Immediately below the cataract, the river is confined between two steep rocks that form a deep winding valley, through which the waters flow in their course towards Lake Ontario. This valley is terminated by a perpendicular rock of 58 yards in height, which runs across, forming an angle pointing up the river, over which this vast body of water precipitates itself with astonishing rapidity, and with a noise so tremendous that it can scarcely be described. On the top of the rock is a small island, which divides the cataract into two parts, and in such a manner that the greater part of the water pours over the rocks at the extreme head of the valley, and the rest on one side of it. A little above, opposite Chippaway, the river is two miles over; but directly above the Falls it narrows to about a mile in breadth. I was informed by Joseph Ellicot and his brother, at whose house I lodged, that they had twice measured the falls, and found them to be 158 feet in height, and about 1800 yards in width from the opposite edges of

The Falls of Niagara.

the river*. I was told by the ferryman, that about 16 miles above the Falls, the river was nearly one mile in width, and that, in the middle, it was 40 feet in depth; and, in common, the stream ran at the rate of six miles in the hour. If this is really the case, and I have no cause to doubt it, the quantity of water passing over the Falls, and continually suspended between the top and bottom, may be more than 400,000 tons. If the additional weight and velocity, gained by a fall of 158 feet, be added, the weight of these prodigious columns of water would exceed three millions of tons. Such an enormous specific gravity falling at once into the gulf below, may bring the accounts of the Falls being heard, under favourable circumstances, at the distance of 40 or 50 miles, within the limits of credibility†.

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* NOTE. This includes both Falls and the intersecting island, which is about 450 yards over.

† NOTE. Arrowsmith in his map of the United States, says, "this column of water is supposed to descend into the chasm about 65 feet." He also observes, "It is said by those who have visited this stupendous cataract, that the descent into the chasm is very difficult, because of the great height of the banks. A person having descended, however, may go to the bottom of the Falls, and take shelter behind the torrent, between the falling water and the precipice; where there is a space sufficient to contain a number of persons, in perfect safety; and where conversation may be held without interruption from the noise; which is less than at a considerable distance."—EDITOR.

Having reached the bottom of the precipice, and approached as near to the cataract, as I could, with apparent safety, I sat down, and spent about two hours in contemplating this astonishing natural curiosity, which is said to be the greatest cataract in the world. The tremendous roar arising from the Falls, added to the awful sublimity of the spectacle of such an uncommon body of water rushing headlong from the rock, with the beautiful surrounding perspective, altogether form a scene which it is impossible to describe. As the morning was bright and clear, a beautiful rainbow was constantly observable in the clouds of mist and spray, that are continually rising from the water below. Here I held my forenoon meeting, and though no words were uttered, it could scarcely be called a silent meeting; the objects before me loudly proclaiming the power and majesty of the Great First Cause and Creator of all things.

In the afternoon I returned to the inn, and, after dinner, was invited by the commanding officer of the English garrison to drink tea with him, and his wife and family, in the fort. I accepted his invitation, and spent the evening with them very pleasantly. This officer, whose name is Tailant, had spent some time in Sheffield, a few years back, and had married his wife at Liverpool; she is an agreeable young woman, and well acquainted with some friends of Liverpool. They had a fine child with them, and upon the whole seemed hap-

pier than could be expected in such a situation. They behaved with great kindness to me; and it appeared a gratification to them to entertain an Englishman.

12*th Month*, 2*d*. This morning I had the company of W. S. a minister of our society, belonging to Pelham monthly meeting, in this neighbourhood. He kindly invited me to his house, to spend a few days with him, but I could not conveniently accept his invitation. In the forenoon I paid another visit to the Falls, and it being a dark cloudy day, the whole view had a more gloomy and solemn aspect. There being none of the glare and glitter of the sunshine, the eye could rest steadily upon it; and, having a pencil and paper with me, I took a sketch of the scene.

In the evening I came to D. P.'s of Black Creek meeting, at whose house I lodged. This is a pleasant situation, on the banks of Lake Erie; and D. P.'s establishment presents an agreeable specimen of a Back Wood family. In the room where we breakfasted, was a loom for weaving; in another apartment were spinning wheels, and some of the girls actively platting straw and making it into hats and bonnets for the family. In addition to our tea and toast, we had excellent broiled fish taken in the Lake, where they easily

procure great quantities. These persons were so situated, that, in their own family, they had the means of procuring nearly all the necessaries, and even many of the luxuries of life. It was a very beautiful sight, to see ten fine orderly children sitting round the table with their father and mother, who were still in the prime of life, and living independently of the uncertainties of commerce. The eldest daughter appeared to be about 16 years old. One of the sons, who was but a boy, entertained me with an account of his having lately killed a bear, as it was in pursuit of his father's hogs. The English government, in order to encourage the settlement of Upper Canada, grant to new settlers, 200 acres of land for heads of families, and 50 acres additional for each child; reserving to the crown the minerals and the white pines. D. P. gave me the perusal of his grants, from which I gathered the conditions. Some little expense attends the grants in the fees of office, though but trifling, and their taxes amount to a very small sum per annum for each 100 acres.

12*th Month, 3d.* I left Black Creek; and the morning being clear and calm, the scenery around was beautiful. After riding about 10 miles on the banks of Lake Erie, I came to Fort Erie, where I got some refreshment at the inn, and proceeding a little further, I got into the ferry-boat, in company with an old drunken Indian, and his squaw.

These poor creatures I had seen the morning before, at the inn, endeavouring to persuade Fenning, the landlord, to exchange spiritous liquors for a piece of printed callico, which the Indian had received as a present from the agent of the British Government in Canada. I was glad to observe that Fenning had the uprightness to refuse taking advantage of this poor creature, which he might easily have done, as the Indian was then in a state of intoxication, and scarcely able to utter any thing but "Whisko," the name he gave to spirits. I was told in Canada, that many thousand pounds per annum are expended in presents to the Indians, in order to insure their friendship in time of war; and that the greater part of these presents are exchanged for spiritous liquors, which they use to great excess, many times to the loss of their lives, and always at the expence of their health.

After crossing the Rapids, I passed through the Prairies, or large open plains, already described. In the evening I slept at an inn kept by a person called Esquire Ransom. This is the title given to all justices of the peace, and my landlord was one, and a miller also. It seemed to me a little strange, that men in such low stations should be appointed magistrates. On making a remark to this effect, they also thought it very strange that we should measure peoples understanding by their wealth.

12*th Month*, 4*th*. I travelled this day mostly through the woods, and met with some Indian hunters, who behaved with civility. On one large tree I saw an Indian painting that had been recently done. The figures were, Indians, bows and arrows, and deer with arrows pierced through the neck. The colours were chiefly black and red, upon the white ground of the tree where the bark was taken off. In passing through these woods I saw divers very fine and lofty pines; some of them were 12 or 14 feet in circumference, and, I suppose, not less than 170 feet in height. I saw many which had been blown down, and, in their fall, had, with their roots, torn up mounds of earth of considerable height. At night I came to Batavia, and took up my quarters at the house of J. E. and his brother, where I was kindly and generously entertained. We had part of a fine haunch of venison for supper, which they told me they had bought of the Indians at 1½d. per lb. and which was the regular sum paid for the best parts of the fattest deer.

In the centre of a good room, in which I slept, was fixed one of the most beautiful and curious clocks I have ever seen. It was in the form of an elegant mahogany pillar, on the capital of which were four faces. On one of them was an orrery, shewing the motions of the earth and planets round the sun. On another face were marked

the hours and minutes; and on the third face were marked the names of 24 musical tunes, with a pointer in the centre, which being placed against any name, repeated that tune every quarter, until the pointer was moved to another. On the fourth face was seen, through the glass, the curious machinery of the clock. The value set upon this ingenious piece of mechanism was 1000 dollars, or 225l. The cabinet work of the case, as well as the engravings and paintings about it, and also the movements, although done in a beautiful and workman-like manner, had all been executed by men, none of whom had served an apprenticeship to their respective lines of business. The mechanism was executed by the grandfather of the kind friend in whose house it stands. This family are remarkable for ingenuity, and have rendered essential services to this country, by the improvements they have made in the machinery of flour mills. One of their progenitors had been clock-maker to a King of England, and was considered a first-rate mechanic in his day. Thus propensities and talents sometimes run in families from one generation to another.

12*th Month, 5th.* After breakfast my hospitable friends shewed me into the land office of the Holland purchase, where every thing is arranged in great order; and several clerks and surveyors

are employed. At one of the desks I saw the surveyor whom I had met with a few days before, in his Indian habiliments, just come out of the woods, in which he had been surveying. He was now transformed into a smart looking clerk, so that I scarcely knew him. In the forenoon I left Batavia, and passed several hunting parties of Indians. Yesterday, whilst breakfasting at Vandeventer's, I observed them sending out a boy to a neighbouring settlement of these people, to buy Indian corn; and, on inquiring the cause, I was told that in the settlements of the white people thereabouts, the corn harvest had generally failed. This not having been the case with the Indians, the white people were therefore indebted to them for support that season. The mistress of Vandeventer's Tavern, who is a sober religious woman, informed me that she sometimes employed the Indian females in needle work, at which some of them are exceedingly clever. On my inquiring how it happened that they decreased in numbers so fast, she told me that she often had conversation on this subject, with the females she employed; and, on close inquiry, they would freely confess that they used various unnatural means to prevent an increase. On the landlady pleading with them, and endeavouring to convince them of the sinfulness of their practices, they would sometimes reply, that it was impossible for them to carry about a child, and also the skins, &c. which their

husbands procured in the woods; and which they were always forced to carry in the hunting season. Such is the affecting situation of these poor Indian mothers.

In the afternoon I came to Capt. Ganser's Tavern, in approaching which, I observed a young Indian female, who was standing not far from the road, apparently full of trouble. On coming near the house, I heard a noise very much like the growling of a wild beast; and on looking into the house, I saw a stout young Indian singing a kind of war song in his own language. The master of the inn told me that he was much intoxicated, and had been beating his wife, the female I had just seen. She had, notwithstanding, taken from him his tomahawk and scalping knife, and put them out of his way; and I was informed that it is the general practice of the Indian females, to take away these instruments of death, whenever there is any appearance of intoxication. Even the little girls are so instructed, that whenever they see the men in the way of being intoxicated, they will slily take away these instruments and hide them until the drunken fit is over.

After leaving this place I passed by a settlement of white people, who were mostly Scotch Highlanders. Here I heard a company of drunken Indians singing their war song; and, passing on a

few miles farther I overtook a company of Indian women with their children. The women were disposed to talk with me, but I could not understand a word they said, except scos, scos, and too scoss; the first of which I knew meant good, and the latter, not good. Not long after I parted with them I came to Cannawagas, an Indian village, near the Genessee river, which I crossed, and, in the evening came to Osmar's Tavern in Hartford, where I spent the evening with two young men, who had also been on a visit to the Falls of Niagara.

12*th Month, 6th.* This morning I came to General Hall's inn to breakfast. This repast consisted of tea and toast, and broiled venison. In the evening I came to Canandarque, and lodged at Taylor's hotel.

12*th Month, 7th.* This morning, as I arose, I saw many Indians, both men and women, coming into the town on business with the shop-keepers; and, when about mounting my horse, I saw a beautiful salmon trout borne by two men upon a pole which was put through the mouth and gills of the fish. I thought it could not be less than 4 or 5 feet long, as its tail trailed upon the ground when thus carried.

In the afternoon I passed through Geneva, and dined there at Powel's hotel. In the evening I

rode about 8 miles on the banks of Lake Seneca; and lodged at Captain Knight's tavern, a beautiful situation on the banks of the Lake. The landlord informed me that he had been a long time in the service of Daniel Offley, a friend of Philadelphia, of whom he spoke with respect.

12*th Month, 8th.* This day I travelled along the Bank of Lake Seneca, on which are many pleasing prospects. I had, through the day, the company of a young man, a son of the postmaster at Newtown; and, in the evening we came to Ely's tavern in Hector township. One son of our landlord was called Hector, being the first white boy who was born in the township, after its settlement; he appeared to be about 12 years old. This part abounds with deer and black squirrels, of which sort of provisions they had plenty in the house; and we had some for supper. The squirrels were very fat, much more so than I could have expected.

12*th Month, 9th.* We left Ely's tavern early, and passed through a romantic country, where we had a view of one of the prettiest water falls I had ever seen. It descended, as by an easy flight of steps, down the declivity of a mountain, at the foot of which is Lake Seneca. I was told that both the white inhabitants and Indians kill a great many deer by hunting them down into the Lake, on which they continue to pursue them in a boat or canoe. The

pursuers soon overtake the deer, throw a halter over the horns, and dragging it to the side of the vessel, take the life of the poor animal with a large knife, and then drag it on shore.

About noon we reached Catherines, a village at the end of Lake Seneca; at this village there is a wharf, and some business is carried on in vessels of about 50 tons burden. After taking some refreshment, we passed on through Catherine's Swamp, a deep narrow valley with mountains on each hand, covered with lofty trees. Here, as the evening approached, the valley resounded with the howling of wolves; the sound very much resembling the noise of a number of large dogs, howling as they sometimes do in the night, or on hearing the sound of the horn. My companion, by way of encouragement, informed me that he had never heard of an instance of either a wolf or a bear attacking a man, except in case of themselves or their young being first wounded; and, from what I can learn, I believe his statement to be correct.

This evening we came to Newtown and had good accommodations at Ellis's tavern, where I spent some time with a person of the name of Goldbride, who informed me that he was the first person who had attempted the navigation of the Shoumonge into the Susquehanna, and so down to Baltimore and the Chesapeak Bay. In this first

attempt he sustained considerable loss, and several of the boatmen were drowned; but, from the improvements made in the navigation of this river, considerable business is now done upon it.

12*th Month*, 10*th*. I left Newtown, and, travelling along a thinly peopled country, came to a small inn kept by one Esquire Wincope, where I got some refreshment. The innkeeper was not only a justice of the peace, but also a watchmaker. Having broken the glass of my watch, he put a brass cap over the face as none of his glasses would suit. He appeared to be a very ingenious artist; and, as a Magistrate, possessed a good share of useful knowledge. I perceived an edition of Burn's Justice on the shelf, with his watch-making tools, and therefore I suppose he administered justice according to law. Towards evening I came to Tioga Point, where is the junction of the Shoumonge with the Susquehanna; and took up my quarters at Doctor Hopkin's, an acquaintance of my relation J. E. to whose habitation at Elklands I was bending my course. This night I lodged at the Doctor's, and, next morning set out for Elklands. After travelling along the Bank of the Susquehanna, and passing by Sugar Creek, I came to Dotherly's tavern in the evening, on the Banks of Tawandy Creek. Here I supped, and the next morning breakfasted on wild venison.

12th Month, 12th. This morning I left Dotherly's, and rode many miles through the woods, without seeing one habitation, or meeting with one individual. The land in general is of good quality, and the forest trees are mostly beech, hiccory, oak, a species of pine, called hemlock, and the sugar maple. From the last, considerable quantities of sugar are made; and I saw several sugar camps, fenced in, where the sap is collected in small wooden troughs, about two feet long, coarsely made with the hatchet, and capable of containing one or two gallons each. One of these troughs is placed at the foot of each tree, and above it a hole is pierced, with an inch and a half auger. In the hole is fixed a spout, about one foot long, made of the elder tree, with the pith taken out. As the sap is collected, it is carried to the boilers, which are fixed in the camp. Some farmers not only collect sufficient sugar and treacle for their own use, but have several hundred pounds weight to dispose of to the grocers. After travelling about 19 miles, I came to a habitation called Eldridge's Tavern. The situation of this inn was very solitary and romantic, in the midst of a very extensive forest. The mistress of the house told me that her husband and she had lately emigrated from London, where they had carried on business in Longacre, more than 14 years.

In the course of this day I came safe to my relation's at Elklands, and found his family well.

The situation he has chosen is very solitary; his nearest neighbour being about one mile off; but there are several at about that distance; and some of them being of our society, they have united and built a meeting-house near them.

12*th Month*, 13*th*. I spent this afternoon at J. H.'s, whose family were busily employed in making maple sugar. J. H. is a minister in good esteem, has an agreeable wife and a group of fine children, who have plenty of employment in clearing and cultivating his plantation in this wilderness, which, however, appears to be an excellent soil; and the situation being dry and healthy, on a rising ground, there is every probability that at some future day this may become a property of great value.

12*th Month*, 14*th*. This day I visited E. H.'s, a nephew of J. H.'s. He, with his wife and one fine child, had but lately come into this country, and had cleared only a very few acres, but which appeared to be well managed, and very productive. He had just nailed up the skin of a large bear, against the side of his house. He had shot the beast, whilst in the act of seizing one of his hogs, having been led to the scene of action by the shrieks of the poor animal, while under the rude embraces of the bear. By E. H.'s attention, the

tables were quickly turned in favour of the hog, which was rescued, and was in a fair way of recovering from its wounds.

12*th Month*, 15*th*. I attended Elklands meeting. During the sitting of it, a company of hunters came in, and, leaving their rifle guns at the door, behaved in a becoming manner until the meeting broke up.

12*th Month*, 16*th*. I spent this day at my relation's. In the course of it I saw two of his men cut down a hemlock tree, which is a species of pine. This tree was 4 yards in circumference, and 50 yards in length; yet it was of but little value here. The timber which most abounds on this farm is the sugar maple, the beech, the locust, and the oak. This day I saw a family from near Derby, in England, of the name of Lambert, who, I understood, were likely to do well.

12*th Month*, 17*th*. I rode from Elklands to Muncy, across the Allegany Mountains, in company with J. H. and one of his neighbours. When near the top of the Allegany Mountains, we passed the company of hunters who had attended the meeting at Elklands. The principal objects of their pursuit were deer, although they had no objection to meeting with a bear or a wolf. In passing down the Allegany Mountains, we came

near the house of a man of the name of Webster, who had killed 36 bears the last season.

In the evening we came to Muncy, where I took up my lodgings at W. E.'s, a very hospitable friend. This being the evening preceding the monthly meeting, upwards of 20 friends lodged at his house; and, as far as I could judge, were both liberally and comfortably entertained. I was told, by a neighbour, that it was not very uncommon for as many as 30 strangers to dismount at the door of this friend's house, in the course of an evening, and for themselves and horses to be all well accommodated. W. E. has a family of 8 or 10 children, and his wife, who is an amiable woman, sometimes appears in the ministry. Here I met with my cousin S. M. who has taken up her abode at this place for the present. It affords a fine field for the exercise of her talents; and I believe she makes herself exceedingly useful.

12*th Month*, 18*th*. A deputation from Half-moon monthly meeting, in Maryland, attended this meeting at Muncy, with a proposition to unite these two monthly meetings into a quarterly meeting; the friends of each of them having to travel about 150 miles to their respective quarterly meetings, according to the present arrangement.

After attending the monthly meeting, I dined and spent the afternoon at W. E.'s, where I had the company of my relation J. E. and that of many other friends from the neighbouring meetings.

12*th Month*, 19*th*. I spent this day at W. E.'s, who appeared to be much employed as an agent in the sale and purchase of lands in these parts; and, I understand, he has, by this means, acquired a large property. A sale of 100 acres of land was made while I was here. The estate sold for about 330*l*. sterling, with a tan-yard and some buildings and other improvements thereon. It was considered well worth the money; although, 10 or 15 years ago, 50*l*. would have been thought a good price for the land; it being 150 miles inland from Philadelphia; but there are now many good houses and plantations scattered up and down in the neighbourhood; and the roads are generally in good order.

12*th Month*, 20*th*. I came this day to Jersey town where I slept. In passing through the woods this afternoon, I saw a flock of wild turkies running along the ground.

12*th Month*, 21*st*. This morning I came about 12 miles on my way on the banks of the Susquehanna opposite to Cattawessy, and breakfasted at the house of a friend of the name of Yarnal.

Observing something very wild and singular in the countenance of an infant, which the friend's wife was nursing on her lap, I inquired if it was her own; on which she informed me it was the child of an Indian, and that she had taken charge of it.

After breakfast I attended Cattawessy monthly meeting. Here I took up my quarters at J. L.'s, a friend I had before been acquainted with. J. L. and some of his neighbours were endeavouring to dispose of their property at Cattawessy, with a view of removing to the Ohio, the tide of emigration now setting in strongly that way. Generally speaking, it is observable that local attachments are very slight in this country.

12th Month, 22d. I came to Roaring Creek, and attended the meeting there. Afterwards I spent the afternoon and lodged at W. P.'s, having been kindly invited to his house, by him, when at J. L.'s. A neighbour of W. P.'s told us, that, sometime before, when hunting deer with his dog and rifle gun, he was suddenly alarmed by a large wolf running by him. On presenting his gun, he observed a considerable number following after as fast as they could run, being in all 17 large wolves. They all passed by without taking the least notice of him; however he fired at the last of them, and killed him on the spot; the rest pursuing their

rout without taking the least notice of their fallen companion.

In that neighbourhood many friends had sold their plantations, and had gone to reside in Upper Canada, where they had each a grant of 2 or 300 acres from the British Government, without further expense than the fees of office, which are very small, as already noticed.

12*th Month*, 23*d*. I came this day to Miller's Tavern, where, in the evening, I observed a hunter exercising himself in shooting at a mark, with his rifle gun. The mark at which he shot, was a lighted candle. The accounts that are given of the expertness of these shooters, are almost incredible. Most of this day's journey was through a rough, stony country, very little of it being in a state of cultivation; but the sides of the mountains were mostly covered with the flowering laurel; and the streams of the Mahonay were seen winding along the vallies. At the tavern where I dined, there was a hunter who, the landlord said, had shot one hundred deer that season.

12*th Month*, 24*th*. I came on with J. M. to a German tavern, about 6 miles from Hamburg, where we lodged. At this house I found but one person who could speak English, and he being out when I rose in the morning, I was unable to make the family understand what I said to them.

12*th Month*, 25*th*. I came this day to T. L.'s, at Maiden Creek. Afterwards, at the house where I lodged, I met with a venerable looking man, whose countenance was almost lost in a large bushy beard, which extended a considerable way down his breast. On conversing with him, it appeared he was of the religious society called Dunkers. I inquired of him the reason why the men of that society were so tenacious of their beards, and expected to have heard some motive assigned that had at least the appearance of weight; but in this I was disappointed; for he either could not, or would not assign any other than this: "That as they believed the practice of shaving originated from a desire in the men to make themselves agreeable to the women, it was unbecoming the gravity of a religious character to act from such motives."

12*th Month*, 26*th*. I came this day to Bethlehem, a town inhabited almost entirely by Moravians. They have here a well-conducted boarding-school for girls, where children of all persuasions are taught every branch of learning that is deemed necessary for females; and, for this purpose, the best masters and mistresses are procured from different parts of Europe and America.

The inn is large and commodious, and conducted with a good deal of order and regularity; and is

not inferior to some of the principal inns in England. Soon after I alighted, I was invited by a respectable old man to look over the schools that evening. I was glad of the offer, as I had an opportunity of seeing nearly 100 of the girls collected, and of hearing most of them repeat a number of short pieces in verse and prose.

12*th Month*, 27*th*. I remained at Bethlehem, and this morning was again kindly invited, by the person who was my conductor last evening, to go over the different apartments in the school and establishment. I gladly accepted his offer, and was well pleased with the neatness and order that prevailed throughout the whole. This town is pleasantly situated on the banks of the Lehigh, a branch of the Delaware, which is navigable down to Philadelphia. The town was founded by Count Zinzendorff, and a large tract of good land was purchased here by him, which is now of very great value.

12*th Month*, 29*th*. I went to Falmouth, and attended the meeting there, and afterwards came forward to Spring Mills, where I dined at T. L.'s, in company with N. W. jun. who, with T. L.'s sister, narrowly escaped with their lives as we came from Falmouth. They were both in a single-horse chaise, and the horse being in high condition and full of spirits, took fright at something he saw,

and set off on a full gallop: the rein breaking, he became ungovernable, so that one of the wheels soon came in contact with a post, on which the carriage was immediately whirled over, and they were both thrown out with great violence; but providentially they received little or no injury.

This afternoon I returned safe to Merion, having, in this excursion, travelled about a thousand miles.

CHAPTER XI.

Merion—Cruel murder of a black boy—A few lines addressed to the author's family—Preservation of a ship's company—Baltimore—Emigrants from Germany and Holland—Elkridge—Company of slaves—Washington—A faithful slave.

12*th Month*, 31*st*, 1805, I was employed in my commercial concerns in Philadelphia. In passing along the market-house in this city, the variety of wild animal food exposed to sale was very striking; such as bear's flesh, opossums, racoons, squirrels, deer, badgers, or ground hogs, &c. &c.; besides a great variety of wild fowls. Many of the latter were of beautiful plumage, but quite unknown to me.

1806, 1*st Month*, 1*st*. I returned to Merion, and spent the following day there, in writing to my family and friends in England. I thought it remarkable, especially at this season of the year, that, notwithstanding there was a good deal of plate in constant use, in the house where I lodged, the doors were never locked at night, nor even had any locks on them: the only fastening to the principal front door, was a nail or a pin put over the latch; and even this precaution was not unfrequently omitted. From what I could learn, it was generally the practice, in this neighbourhood, to

leave the doors unlocked, although the town stood upon one of the most public turnpike-roads in America, only about 7 miles from Philadelphia, a city containing considerably more than one hundred thousand inhabitants.

1*st Month, 3d.* I attended Merion Preparative Meeting, where a discussion of a rather singular nature took place, by which it appeared that, adjoining to Friends' burying ground, there is another grave yard, set apart by Friends, for the use of people of other persuasions who incline to bury in it. For many years past, a number of the neighbouring families had availed themselves of the privilege; but not satisfied with burying only, they had taken down nearly the whole of the stones which composed the wall that separated the two grave yards; and had placed them at the head and feet of the graves, by way of tomb-stones, and thus the two burying grounds had nearly become one. Many Friends of the Preparative Meeting thought it necessary to build up the partition wall, whilst others were for having the remains of this wall entirely taken away. However, as it appeared on discussion, that persons of other persuasions were in the practice of using certain ceremonies at their burials, and of erecting tomb-stones, &c. it was at length concluded that it would be right to rebuild the wall, in order that the peculiar testimonies of Friends, in these respects, might be

more clearly manifested; and the wall was accordingly ordered to be rebuilt.

As my commercial and other engagements occupied chief of my time during my further stay in America, I shall now again make occasional extracts from my diary, instead of detailing the various transactions it records.

1*st Month, 5th.* I attended Merion meeting, and spent the afternoon at H. B.'s, whose neighbour, R. J. handed me a note, containing an account of the number of families, &c. in the Middle Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia, as they stood in the 1st Month, 1800, as follows:—

Total number of Members	1330
Families	280
Male heads of Families	160
Men Friends 21 years of age and upwards	200

In the year 1806, the time when the note was handed to me, the numbers in that monthly meeting were increased, and amounted to between 3 and 4 hundred families.

1*st Month,* 10*th.* In conversation with H. B. he related to me an affecting narrative of a black boy, who came under the observation of his brother J. R. and resided near his dwelling at Lewis-Town, in Delaware State. It happened that the master of

this poor lad had missed a piece of leather, and he charged the boy, who was his slave, with stealing it. The boy denied the charge. However, as the master was unable to discover what was become of the leather, and looked upon the denial of the charge as a thing of course, he was very much irritated that he was unable to bring any proof against the lad. In order to extort confession, the master tied him up by the hands, a considerable height from the ground, and fixed a heavy piece of wood (a fence rail) to his feet. In this situation he beat the poor boy in so unmerciful a manner, that he died under the torture thus cruelly inflicted by his brutal master. Scarcely had the poor little innocent breathed his last, under these torments, before the master's son, smitten with remorse on being the occasion of such dreadful cruelties, confessed that it was himself who had stolen the leather, for which the poor little slave had just paid the forfeit of his life. However void of the feelings of humanity, it may well be supposed, that this hard-hearted master was not a little mortified at having wantonly put to death a valuable slave; but, such was the protection which that State afforded these oppressed fellow-creatures, that the master escaped punishment, as is commonly the case on occasions of murder committed by the whites on their black slaves.

1*st Month*, 12*th*. On a retrospect of my travels in this Continent, I could not avoid recalling to mind the beauty and grandeur of the surrounding scenery, which I have so often admired; whether in looking down from the Allegany Mountains upon vast forests, extending, on every hand, as far as the eye can reach; or in wandering along the banks of those extensive lakes in the Genessee Country, and Upper Canada, in the midst of which, the stupendous cataract of Niagara stuns the ear. Equally impressive was the scene in sailing on those majestic rivers, the Delaware, the Hudson, the Patowmack, or the Susquehanna, whose ever-varying banks open prospects extremely wild and beautiful; or in traversing those almost boundless forests which still remain in an uncultivated state, where I often beheld the native Indian families rambling in search of game. In all these changing scenes, however striking and impressive, the recollection of my near connexions at home was almost ever with me; and the remembrance of these tender ties induced a short address to my wife and family, which led me to exhibit the effects of divine love in a few additional stanzas. Though they may have little to recommend them, I insert the lines in this place:—

Tho' far divided, still I feel thee near,
And oft, on thee, remembrance loves to dwell,
As on a friend well tried, and doubly dear,
Whose worth my heart can better feel than tell.

Thro' all thy conflicts, may the hand of power,
Lead thee in safety on the devious way;
And watch around thee, thro' each varying hour,
Thy guard and guide unto thy latest day.

Those tender plants the pledges of our love,
True to themselves, as to known duty true,
By thy example led, oh! may they prove,
The joys of virtue; and her paths pursue.

As oft, at early dawn, or evening's close,
These widely, waving woods, I pensive trace,
This tender wish within my bosom flows,
In love unbounded still by time or space.

Not this Atlantic's vast extended flood,
Encircling many an Isle in his embrace;
Nor these wide forests that have ages stood,
A shade and shelter to an Indian race;

Not all the deeps where oceans waves combine,
With ev'ry forest's broad extended space,
More widely spread than does that love divine,
Which, as it flows, embraces every race.

With its mild influence cloth'd, the mind can view,
All human kind with one benignant eye;
Whate'er their nation, or whate'er their hue,
For suffering man the heart can heave a sigh.

Behold yon slave with wretchedness cast down,
Torn from his wife and children's weeping eye,
He toils unpitied in a land unknown,
And eats his bitter bread with many a sigh.

Free and untainted, from its source sublime,
Tho' the pure current of the gospel flows;
Yet what avails it to this favour'd clime,
If man, obdurate still, no pity knows!

Or what avails it, tho' fair freedom rear,
Her beauteous throne upon a fertile land,
If there ten thousands still the chain must wear,
And, unregarded, lift the suppliant hand!

1*st Month*, 18*th*. I spent this day at Philadelphia. In crossing the floating bridge at the upper ferry, I observed the people engaged in a singular kind of harvest, being employed in breaking up and taking away large quantities of ice, to lay up for summer use. Those who have never visited warm climates, can scarcely conceive how pleasant the use of ice is, for various purposes of the table, in the summer season.

1*st Month*, 25*th*. In crossing the Schuylkill on the floating bridge, at the upper ferry, I passed a Negro boy apparently about 12 years of age. Round his neck an iron collar was locked, and from each side of it an iron bow passed over his head. His dress was a light linsey jacket and trowsers, without hat, shoes, or stockings. Soon after passing the boy, whom I supposed to be a runaway slave, I met a person of whom I inquired the reason of the boy's having so much iron about him. The man replied that the boy was his, and was so often running away that he had used that method to prevent him.

1*st Month*, 29*th*. After having passed several days at Merion, chiefly in writing to my family

and connections, I went this day to Philadelphia, and forwarded various letters and papers to England. Afterwards I dined at J. A.'s, an Englishman, who had often kindly invited me to his house. He had been sent to this country by D. B. on business. J. A. gave me an account of a singular preservation experienced by the ship's company in crossing the Atlantic, when more than 500 miles from land. His narrative was nearly as follows :—Lying awake early one morning, he was alarmed by the people's continuing a long time at the pump. About five o'clock the Captain came down and informed him that the ship had sprung so considerable a leak, that he was fearful the consequence would be serious, for the water gained fast upon them; that in all probability it would not be many hours before the vessel would sink, and that there was no alternative but taking to the long-boat. Preparations were accordingly made to leave the ship, by providing the few stores and necessaries they were able to stow in the boat. While this was doing the water increased so rapidly, that, early in the forenoon, it filled the lower hold and began to make its appearance on the cabin floor. About noon all were under the absolute necessity of leaving the ship, from an expectation she would go down every moment. With this awful prospect before them, the ship's company committed themselves to the waves, with scarcely a ray of hope

of ever reaching land. The afternoon was spent with heavy hearts, being every moment in danger of having their boat overset or filled with water. When the darkness of the night came on, it added to the horrors of their situation. However, soon after it was dark, about eight o'clock, the Captain stood up, and being stiff with long sitting in a confined posture, stretched himself out, with his face towards that part of the horizon, where the moon was at that moment rising and casting a stream of light along the surface of the waters. This afforded him an opportunity of discovering a vessel which, providentially, at that very time, was passing between them and the moon just as she rose above the waves. The prospect of so unexpected a deliverance, gave such new strength to the poor sailors at the oars, that, in a short time they came up with the ship, and were all taken safely on board.

It is difficult to describe the feelings of a grateful mind, on an occasion like this; but from such an event, we may all draw this useful lesson: not to be too much discouraged even under the most adverse circumstances of life.

On the 30th of the 1st Month, I left Merion, and this day, the *1st of 2d Month*, I crossed the Susquehanna to Charleston, and thence came to Bush. Here I rested about an hour at an inn, the landlord of which told me that he was a native of

London, and had received his education in Christ Church Hospital. On coming over to America about 60 years ago, he landed near the place where Baltimore now stands; but, at that time, the town was not begun, altho' it now contains near 30,000 inhabitants, and is one of the best built towns I have seen. Indeed I do not know any in England superior to it in beauty. In the evening I came to an elegant inn called the Stone-house, and the next day reached Baltimore, and it being 1st day, I attended the meeting there.

2d Month, 3d. I attended the quarterly meeting at Baltimore, which was held in the new meeting-house, a very handsome brick building, about 30 yards in length and proportionably broad. It cost nearly 6000l. This meeting-house is so constructed, that both men and women keep their seats when the meetings for worship close, which are held previously to proceeding to their respective business. The partition which divides the house into two parts, is so constructed, that it winds round a windlass with flat sides. The pannels of the partition are joined to each other by hinges; are so proportioned that they wrap round the windlass as truly and regularly as a piece of canvas; and are so nicely managed, that in winding up or letting down, they make no more noise than a common curtain. It is obvious that the first range of pannels at the top, next to the windlass, must be the

narrowest; and that they must gradually increase in breadth to the lowest range, otherwise they could not wrap regularly round the axle. The gradual decrease in the breadth of the pannels has a very pretty effect, when the shutters are down; and, contrary to my expectation, I did not observe that the meeting suffered any inconveniency from the voices of the women, in the other division of the house.

2d Month, 4th. This day I visited a friend, his wife, and family, who in company with several others had lately emigrated from the neighbourhood of Pyrmont in Germany. Their object in coming to America, was, that they and their children might have more of the company of friends. As the wages of the poor are very low in that part of Germany, not exceeding 3d. or 4d. per day, and the necessaries of life are high in proportion, few labourers there can afford to have any thing better than coarse rye or barley bread, sprinkled with a little salt, to their tea or coffee; and these Germans, being all labouring people in low circumstances, found a great alteration in their situation every way, and appeared very thankful for the change.

2d Month, 5th. In the course of the day I visited a family of friends, who had lately emigrated from Amsterdam, of the name of Poppeleim, and

who had come to this country with the same views as the Germans just mentioned; but, being men of property, were engaged in business. These friends having been eye witnesses of the ravages of war, which of late have so desolated some of the finest countries in Europe, often expressed their thankfulness, in broken English, that they were permitted thus to sit down in a land, where peace and plenty so generally prevailed. One of the last mentioned family, of the name of Valentine, a man of a very delicate constitution, and who had suffered a great deal through bad health, and the almost constant state of alarm his country had been kept under for years past, by contending armies, used sometimes to say to his brothers: "How thankful ought we now to feel for being thus placed amongst friends: we can sleep peacefully in our beds, and, rising in the morning, we can pursue our business without interruption or alarm; and can sit down in a land of plenty, eating our bread in quietness and peace." This evening I supped with I. P. an English friend, who some years back had emigrated from York, and is now well settled in business here.

2d Month, 6th. I attended Baltimore week-day meeting. In the afternoon I set out for Washington city, in company with E. W. and slept this night at his house near Elkridge, where he has a valuable estate, and a large well constructed flour

mill. During the continuance of the war carried on by Great Britain, in this country, he was tried with the loss of all his property, and a long confinement in prison; but his integrity and perseverance rose above all his difficulties; and he is now placed in a situation of life far above most of his persecutors.

2*d Month*, 7*th*. I left E. W.'s hospitable roof, and, in the evening, came to Bladensburg, where I had the company of a young surgeon to supper, of the name of John Bell, who had accompanied the American squadron in the late expedition against the Dey of Tripoly, and was at the storming of the fort and town of Deane, on the coast of Africa. In hearing narratives of this kind, the mind is often lost in astonishment in the consideration that a man, endowed with reason, can bring himself to believe there is any thing meritorious in thus exposing his life and limbs to destruction, and oftentimes when he is a total stranger to the causes of the quarrel which he has espoused. How lamentable is it that the noblest faculties of man should be debased, and the fundamental principles of the christian religion trodden underfoot, through the indulgence of ferocious and warlike dispositions.

2*d Month*, 8*th*. In travelling this day, I passed by a company of black slaves, chained together,

with a white man of a savage countenance, holding a large pistol in his hand, driving them before him. Behind was a cart, in which were some Negro children, who had been torn from their parents by this member of civilized and polished society, who was now taking them down into Georgia, there to remain in abject slavery for life. In viewing this painful scene as it passed before me, it was almost impossible to avoid noticing how different were the countenances of the infant company in the cart, compared with that of their unfeeling conductor. On the former were seen the smiles of innocence, whilst on the latter sat brooding a mixture of cruelty and avarice, which no pen or pencil can describe.

In the afternoon I came to Washington city; and on the 9th I attended the meeting at Washington. After meeting I was kindly invited by M. P. to her son-in-law's house, who is Secretary of State; but, having engaged to spend the afternoon elsewhere, I was obliged to decline the offer. In the evening I had the company of a native of Falmouth; but, of late years, he has been employed in the national dock-yard at Washington city, as naval architect. I understood that he had, early in life, been invited over to this country by Doctor Franklin, as one skilful in ship-building. Having had his education in our society, it appeared inconsistent that he should be employed in con-

structing ships of war; but I found he had forfeited his membership. However, I am mistaken, if the building of ships of war is not a burden greater than he will be able long to bear. A friend of the name of J. A. supped with us this evening. He was from Providence in Rhode Island, and gave us an interesting narrative of a journey he took through the wilderness parts of this continent, to New Orleans in Louisiana. A considerable part of the way he went by water in canoes, having Indian conductors, and passed through many Indian settlements, by the chiefs of which he was, in general, kindly and hospitably entertained. At one Indian village in particular, the chief, calling together the inhabitants to a place where they held their public meetings, and placing Jonathan by his side, made a long harangue. The substance of it was, his approbation of the principles and practices of friends, concerning which he had obtained information at some former period, and which he then endeavoured to explain to the Indians about him. Amongst other things he remarked, it was a self-evident truth, that the Power which gave life and breath to man, alone had the right to take it. At another settlement of Indians, he was agreeably surprised to find what great progress was made in agriculture and manufactures. He was told, that in this district there were 200 looms employed by Indians; and at the table of the chief at which he was enter-

tained, there was every kind of vegetables and fruit common in the cities of America; such as pease, beans, cabbages, asparagus, melons, peaches, &c. At dinner, amongst other things, a quarter of roasted lamb was served up; a thing hardly to have been expected at an Indian table.

2d Month, 10th. This morning I visited S. B. at his office in the Treasury, of which he is the head clerk. From the Treasury I was kindly conducted by J. P. to his mother's, who was then resident with her son-in-law, J. M. the present Secretary of State to the United States. I spent a little time pleasantly with the Secretary, who was confined to his house, by a hurt he had received upon his knee; and although pretty much a stranger in the family, I received a kind invitation to call at his house, whenever business might lead me to Washington city.

As I had never seen Thomas Jefferson, the President of the United States, this hospitable family offered to introduce me to him, and the Secretary's brother-in-law accompanied me to the President's house, where I was received by him with a shake by the hand, as though we had been old acquaintance; and immediately he entered into conversation with as much freedom as if we had been long known to each other. After sitting a

short time in this friendly way, I informed him, that as my object in calling upon him, deserved scarcely a better name than curiosity, I should be very sorry to detain him; especially as his time must be fully occupied with the important concerns of Government; Congress being then sitting. After this, rising from my chair, he came forward, and again taking me by the hand, bade me farewell. From his disregard to all useless forms and ceremonies, not excepting those of religion, his enemies accuse him of being deficient both in religion and politeness. But there are men, that have seen a great deal of the world, who believe, on good grounds, that where true religion and true politeness most abound, there we see least of forms and ceremonies, and that true religion and true politeness generally go hand in hand.

Having received an invitation from one of the Members of Congress, to attend their sitting, I this day went to the Capitol and heard their debates. I also visited the Hall where the Senate was sitting; but as there was nothing very interesting before them, I had not an opportunity of hearing their principal orators.

After visiting the Senate and House of Representatives, I spent a short time in the Supreme Federal Court; where the Chief Justice was then sitting. Although a great part of the Capitol is

already finished, in a convenient, and indeed, in a superb style, yet a great deal remains to be done before the whole will be completed.

After dining at Washington, I set out for Baltimore; and arrived there the 2d of 12th Month, accompanied by E. W. and his wife, from their own habitation, where I lodged last night. E. W. gave me an affecting account of a black slave, residing near his house, who is a pattern of integrity and industry. Such is the confidence reposed in him by his master, that for many years past it has been his practice to send this slave to Baltimore, with his waggon laden with various kinds of produce, the sale of which he intrusts to this black man; also the care of receiving and bringing home the money; by which means it frequently happens that large sums of money pass through his hands. This service he has performed so much to the satisfaction of his master, that he scarcely ever ventures to employ any other person for these purposes.

This faithful slave has a wife and a large family of children, who reside in a hut close by his master's house. He is allowed a small portion of time weekly to do something for himself and family; and being frequently employed by the neighbours to do little errands for them in Baltimore, he has,

during many years of care, and frequently by hard labour when others were at rest, scraped together about 200l. He lately made an offer of all this to his master for the freedom of his family; but the master absolutely refused to give him his liberty on any condition, alleging that he could not meet not meet with another in whom he could so confide.

The poor man had greatly flattered himself with hopes, that considering his time of life, being now about 50 years old, a much smaller sum would have procured his liberty; and it would indeed have purchased that of almost any other slave in the neighbourhood. On finding his master inexorable, his disappointment and distress were extreme, and, in the anguish of his heart, he determined to leave his wife and children, and take the first opportunity of quitting the country for ever. However he concluded first to call on E. W. who had always been his friend and adviser, to inform him of his resolution. E. W. sympathized with him in his affliction, but did not let that suffice; for he went immediately to the master, and used every endeavour to prevail upon him to accept the money offered, and, to grant the man and his family their freedom. In order to induce the master's compliance, E. W. represented to him the exceedingly ungenerous return he was making to the poor man for his fidelity and industry; as the only plea urged by this unfeeling master, for his

cruel conduct, was the uprightness and integrity of the Slave!! But, alas! avarice is deaf to all arguments except those of self-interest; it was therefore in vain that E. W. thus pleaded the cause of suffering virtue; for the hardened task-master was inexorable to all his reasonings; and the poor black man and his family remain in bondage, living witnesses to what a pitch of obduracy, avarice and self-interest can harden the heart of man. As nothing that E. W. could say had any effect upon the master, he thought it his duty to endeavour to reconcile the poor slave to his hard lot, and to persuade him not to leave his wife and family, as it appeared his full determination to have done. In this he was more successful; for the poor man concluded to remain with them, and endeavour to bear his burden with patience.

CHAPTER XII.

Baltimore—Gunpowder Falls—Mary Stroud—Civilizing the Indians—Negro Boy Sado—Battle of Brandy-wine, and events in the neighbourhood—Westgrove—Another Negro Boy—Merion—Occurrences there, &c.—General Moreau—A Negro Slave who had been liberated—Dr. Franklin.

2d Month, 13th, 1806. I attended Baltimore monthly meeting, and afterwards dined at J. M.'s, a friend who after many years successful application to business, had retired from it, and was employing a part of his leisure hours, in promoting an extensive work for supplying the town with water, in which he has embarked considerable property conjointly with many others. I took a walk with him to view the work as it was in progress, and, from what I could judge, it will be attended with very great expense; but no doubt it will prove highly beneficial to the inhabitants of Baltimore.

2d Month, 14th. This day I dined with G. M. an ancient friend, who filled the office of inspector of beef and pork, exported from the Port of Baltimore. The United States not requiring any oaths from those appointed to offices under government, it frequently happens that friends accept of them.

2d Month, 15th. I visited G. P. one of the friends lately come from Amsterdam to settle in Baltimore. They had opened a shop here which they had furnished with the manufactures of France and Germany; and, for the short time they had been in business, had met with good encouragement. I was rather surprised to see that in some of the shops in this place, as well as in Philadelphia, although nearly the whole stock consisted of the manufactures of other countries, yet but little of it was from England.

2d Month, 16th. I attended Baltimore forenoon meeting, and in the afternoon attended by J. T. and G. M. left that city. In the evening we came to H. J.'s, a minister who is well respected in this neighbourhood. His house and plantation lie near the Gunpowder Falls, and not far from the meeting which bears that name. I was told of a remarkable preservation which the friends of this meeting experienced during the revolutionary war in America. As our society generally had shewn an attachment to the government of England, at the breaking out of the revolution, and had, as a body, adhered to their peaceable principle in refusing to take any active part in the struggle, there were many amongst the most violent of the revolting colonists, who were greatly exasperated against friends. However a few individuals in the society, were not so careful as in common prudence they

ought to have been; and several of them were accordingly tried, convicted, and executed, as traitors to their country. The conduct of these imprudent individuals, increased the disgust of those violent partizans, and it sometimes happened that innocent friends were dragged from their meeting-houses to prison. At that period, a part of the American army lay near the Gunpowder Falls meeting-house, which, however, did not prevent friends from holding their meetings for worship. Amongst the troops of which this part of the army was composed, there was a Colonel of a regiment of dragoons, whose resentment against friends was raised to such a pitch of malice, that one day, when traversing the country, he came to the most extraordinary and cruel resolution of putting to the sword, the friends who were then collected at their place of worship; considering them as no better than a company of traitors. Drawing up his men near the spot, he ordered them to halt, in order to make arrangements for the execution of his dreadful purpose. At this moment an awful silent pause took place, in which he felt his mind so powerfully smitten with conviction, that he not only drew off his men, but conceived very favourable sentiments of the society; and continuing to yield to his convictions, he afterwards joined in communion with friends, and continued faithful to the principle of truth as professed by them.

2d Month, 18*th*. This morning we passed by Nottingham meeting-house, in the neighbourhood of which John Churchman formerly resided. About noon we came to S. C.'s to dinner, where we had the company of Mary Stroud, one of the fifteen children of Joseph Gilpin, mentioned by Thomas Chalkly in his Journal, page 313, Edit. 1766. This friend was in very low circumstances at the time Thomas Chalkly first visited him, and his habitation was a cave by the side of a mountain; although many of his descendants, at this time, are people of opulence in America. The cave is now in the possession of one of them, at whose house I was once hospitably entertained, and who considers it as reflecting honour upon the family, rather than as being any disparagement to it. Mary Stroud, although about 100 years old, still retained her faculties in an extraordinary manner, and her observations were often shrewd and pointed.

2d Month, 19*th*. I attended the quarterly meeting at London Grove, the closing sitting of which, was one of the largest I ever was at. W. J. and R. M. two valuable American ministers, were here; the latter of whom appeared in an extraordinary manner, and being a young man of an amiable disposition, and pleasing delivery, he will, I trust, continue a useful ornament in the church. Yet how frequently do we see the fairest hopes

and prospects clouded; sometimes by the unwise attentions and adulations of the admiring crowd. It is greatly to be lamented, that even those who in an especial manner are placed as guardians and overseers of the shepherds, are not altogether clear of fanning that little spark of vanity, which the grand enemy contrives, in one form or other, to light in almost every human breast.

On coming out of the house after the breaking up of the meeting, I was surprised at the great number of horses and carriages standing on the ground before the meeting-house. The space they occupied consisted of several acres; and, from the best judgment I was able to form, there were nearly 200 carriages of different descriptions, mostly on springs, and more than double that number of horses, exclusive of those used in the carriages. The trifling expense at which horses and carriages are kept in the *country parts* of America, enables even those in slender circumstances to keep them, which certainly is a great privilege in warm climates. After this meeting I took my leave of several of my friends, never expecting to see them again on this side of the grave.

I spent part of this afternoon with J. P. an agreeable friend, who had devoted some years to the instruction of the Indians in letters and agriculture, &c. and had been long amongst them in their settle-

An Indian family on a journey.

ments. He related a variety of little anecdotes concerning these untutored sons of the forest, characteristic of their habits and manners, from which it seemed, that the restraints and confinement of mechanics and labourers in civilized life, are considered by them as the greatest of human miseries; and that one nation should even wish to spread their manufactures amongst other nations, and thus become labourers to those for whom they have no knowledge or regard, was, in their eyes, the height of human folly.

As the plan in which J. P. was engaged did not profess to interfere with the religious concerns of the Indians, they were not often a subject of conversation with; yet the Indians would sometimes observe, that they should have no objection to attending Friends' meetings, if it were not too long to sit doing nothing, without the privilege of a pipe. Instances, however, have occurred, amongst such untutored individuals, wherein they have evinced conviction that the Great Spirit may be known and worshipped in silence.

On my arrival at S. P.'s, I found his wife in a poor state of health; and although considerably reduced by sickness, yet her natural lively and cheerful disposition seemed to rise superior to her bodily affliction. She made respectful mention of a number of European friends, who had visited her habitation; particularly M. R. and J. W.;

the manners of the latter, and her dialect, in broad Irish, had entertained her very much.

While in this family, I could not avoid noticing the innocence and simplicity of a little Negro boy, named Sado; and on my making some inquiry, Martha Painter gave an account to the following effect:—Importing Negro slaves from the coast of Africa, is contrary to the laws of the United States, notwithstanding some of the Southern States allow the keeping of slaves, and it sometimes happens that an American ship is detected transgressing the law, in which case both ship and cargo are confiscated. Not long since, two American ships with cargoes of slaves were seized by a frigate belonging to the United States, and brought to the Port of Philadelphia, where they were both condemned; but the poor black people on board were put under the care of the Society instituted for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, and were all provided with places as servants or apprentices. Amongst the latter was little Sado, who was put out to S. P. Although he was treated with the greatest tenderness, yet he was often seen weeping at the recollection of his near connexions. He said, that himself and sister were on a visit at a relation's, and that, after the family had retired to rest, they were suddenly alarmed, in the dead of the night, by a company of Man-stealers breaking into their habitation.

They were all carried off towards the sea, where they arrived at the end of three days, and were confined until the vessel sailed. Sado's sister was placed in a situation near S. P.'s, which afforded them frequent opportunities of seeing each other. Not long after this Negro boy had been brought into S. P.'s family, he was taken ill of a bad fever; and, for a time, there appeared but little hopes of his recovery, although the best medical help was obtained, and every kindness and attention was shewn to him. While he laid in this state, M. P. inquired of him, if there was any thing he wished to have, or if there was any thing she could do for him; as they desired to do every thing in their power to relieve him. In reply, he expressed his thankfulness for their good intentions, but said, "There was nothing they could do that would cure him; yet if he was at home with his mother, she would soon make him well; adding that "there was a plant grew in his country, the leaves of which she gathered, and pouring hot water upon them, covered his body all over with them, and it always soon made him well." Martha desired him to describe the plant, and they would endeavour to procure it. He replied, "It was not to be had in this country, for he had often looked for it in vain."

There being now scarcely any prospect of his recovery, his mistress was desirous of administer-

ing some religious consolation, and observed to him, as he had always been a very good boy, she had no doubt that if he died at this time, his spirit would be admitted into a place of everlasting rest and peace. On hearing this, he quickly replied, "I know that if I die I shall be happy; for as soon as my body is dead, my spirit will fly away to my father and mother, and sisters and brothers, in Africa." The boy recovered. His good conduct had gained him the favour and respect of the whole family, and I have no doubt that the care bestowed upon his education, will, in due time, afford him a brighter prospect of a future state, than that of returning to Africa.

I have sometimes turned my attention to the orderly conduct, and pleasing dispositions of some of these Black children, whom I have seen in friends families. On considering that they have been violently torn from their near relatives and friends, and exposed to all the horrors and sickness of transportation in a slave ship; I have compared them with the kidnappers, and with the owners, captains, and crews of slave ships, who assume the name of Christians, and, with the greatest self-complacency, make pretensions to being governed by the precepts and example of Christ; whilst they give the appellation of Heathens and Infidels to these poor unoffending Negro children, as a cover to their cruelty. In such a

contemplation and comparison, the mind is overwhelmed with sorrow, at the idea of the atrocity and darkness in which human nature may be involved, by the unbounded thirst of gold.

2d Month, 20th. I left S. P.'s hospitable roof accompanied by his brother-in-law J. T. The ground I travelled over this day was the scene of much bloodshed during the revolutionary war; it being that part of the country where the battle of Brandywine was fought. My companion was present at the time, with several other friends, who were led forth by the dictates of humanity, in order to lend some assistance to the poor wounded and dying soldiers, that lay scattered over the fields, through an extent of several miles. On this occasion friends meeting-house of Birmingham was converted into an hospital, in which many of the poor mangled creatures breathed their last, and where many more suffered the amputation of their limbs, with many other painful operations concomitant with the carnage of war. Amongst those who ended their earthly course in this meeting-house, were several officers, who were buried in friends burying ground. One of them, a near connexion of the Duke of Northumberland, was a young man of the name of Percy, whose amiable and exemplary conduct under his severe sufferings, had procured him the

particular regard and esteem of the friends about him. The shocking situation of some they found in the fields, would not bear description; in others who lay lifeless on the ground, it was some time before any wound could be discovered, a single bullet having passed through some vital part; others had the fleshy part of a leg or a thigh torn to pieces by larger balls, and had sunk under the loss of blood.

These scenes of horror were followed by others, if possible, still more revolting to human nature. Those who have travelled much in America must have observed the deep channels that are in many places worn in the declivities of their fields, owing to the great depth of soil and the heavy showers to which they are subject in that country. It so happened that the dead bodies of many of those who were slain in this battle, were interred in these channels, and remained so for some time undisturbed; but, afterwards, some heavy rains falling, the earth was washed away, and many of the dead bodies were again exposed to view in a putrid state.

After spending an hour or two at West Chester we came to S. J.'s, where we dined and spent the rest of the day. At this friends house, General L'Agneau made his head-quarters for some time before the battle of Germantown, where he lost his life. That part of the English army under his

command was encamped in S. J.'s fields and orchard, round about the house.

2*d Month*, 21*st*. This morning I came to J. K.'s habitation and spent a few hours with him in conversation respecting my friends in England, he having lately returned from a visit to that nation.

2*d Month*, 22*d*. I slept last night at W. T.'s, and this day went over J. T.'s estate, where I visited the old family mansion, which was erected on the first settlement of this country. In many parts of America, and particularly in this neighbourhood, it is the practice of many farmers to reserve about 15 or 20 acres of land for hay, which they continue to mow from one generation to another, many of them laying on but little or no manure; but taking the advantage of situation, where the land may easily be irrigated or overspread with water from time to time. By this means they obtain heavy crops of grass without the aid of manure, and thus supply themselves with winter fodder at an easy expense. On inquiry of W. T. and P. P. two very respectable farmers and land-owners, they informed me that, upon an average, they got about 2½ tons per acre each year, upon this plan. The land usually chosen for this purpose is not a dead flat or marshy land, but commonly the two sides of a

narrow valley of easy ascent on each hand, having a small stream running through the bottom. When the land is to be watered, the stream at the upper end of the valley is diverted from its natural bed, and is conducted in narrow channels along each side of the valley, on as high ground as the head of the stream will admit; and, by placing obstructions to the current of the streams, in different parts of the artificial channels, the water continues to trickle down the sides of the valley, so as plentifully and regularly to water the roots of the grass, but not in such quantities as to cover the herbage.

In the course of the day we paid A. S. a visit, and in the evening came to A. H.'s, another brother-in-law to J. T. Here I met with one of the oldest copies of the English Bible I had ever seen; it was translated by Coverley, at a period when the sacred volume was not divided into chapters and verses, and both the language and the type bore evident marks of great antiquity. The word shoes I noticed was always spelled shoon, and righteousness was always spelled rightwiseness, and in many other respects the language was so very different from what it is at this day, as scarcely, in many places, to be like the same tongue.

During part of the revolutionary contest, this friend's house was the head-quarters of General Stirling, and, sometimes, consultations were held

here, by the American General Officers, at which General Washington attended. While the armies lay in this neighbourhood, the farmers suffered severely in their property; one instance of which this friend mentioned to me, as descriptive of the situation of things amongst them:—A near neighbour, who had a considerable stock of cheese on hand, which it was found needful to hide to prevent being plundered of it, was in hopes an opportunity might occur when it might be sold at a fair price, and to a regular customer; but it so happened, that some officers who were encamped in the vicinity, had got some information respecting this stock of cheese. One of them sent a servant to the mistress of the house, who stated, that his master was extremely anxious to taste one of her cheeses, having been told that she made a better article than any of her neighbours, and that not having tasted any of a long time that was fit to eat, he would freely give her a guinea for a small one. However the servant was not able to ascertain the fact, and of course returned without accomplishing his errand. Upon this the officer went himself to the house, and, after a deal of persuasion, prevailed upon the mistress to furnish him with two or three, for which he very freely gave her a guinea each.

He had watched the mistress so closely, that he discovered where the stock of cheese was laid up,

without appearing to have observed whence she brought the cheeses for him. After many expressions of thankfulness, that he had been supplied with such an excellent article, he returned to the camp; but the result was, that, next day, a party of armed soldiers came to the house, and, after forcibly taking the money which the officer had paid the day before, they went to the room where the cheese was kept, and carried the whole off, without paying any thing for it. Such is the morality of war!

2d Month, 23d. We rode to W. J.'s house, at West Grove, to breakfast; and after attending their meeting, spent the afternoon at his house, in pleasant conversation with himself and his wife, who is an agreeable cheerful woman. W. J. gave me a little history of the emigration of his family into this country, from Ireland:—Being in very low circumstances, they were glad to put up with what was then considered the worst lot of land in that part; and on their first coming here they were visited by a friend who was already settled, and had got his house built, and his land in a state of cultivation. This friend being touched with compassion, went home and told his own family how deeply he felt for the poor Irish family, who, he feared, would never be able to get bread to support themselves, the land was so very indifferent; and taking out a bushel of malt, sent it to them to

make a little beer to support their spirits under their discouraging prospect. Such is the alteration that has taken place, that, at this time, the land which was then thought insufficient for the support of one family, is now divided into several plantations or farms, each of which is considered as amply sufficient for the support of a family in ease, and even in affluence. One of these plantations is that now belonging to W. J. and on which he resides.

This night I lodged at P. P.'s. Here also I met with a smart little Negro boy, who had been stolen from his parents in Africa, and was placed in this family by the Abolition Society. He had the character of being a boy of a bright capacity; and although not very communicative to his master and mistress, he was open and free with the children of the family, and would often, by the fireside in the winter evenings, recite to them the mournful story of his being made captive; with many shocking circumstances that attended his transportation in the slave ship; from which he was liberated by an American ship of war.

After breakfast I set out for Merion, in company with I. J. and in my way passed by the front of Westown school. This school is managed upon a plan, somewhat similar to that at Ackworth, but with this difference, that the children of friends in

affluent circumstances are not excluded. The number of scholars in the house is generally about 200, including boys and girls.

In the evening I came to Merion where I found letters from my family and friends, as late as the 27th of 12th; Month which contained the pleasing account of their being all well.

3d Month, 2d. Being the first of the week I attended meeting in the forenoon, and spent the evening at H. B.'s, where I had the company of his father and mother, and R. J.; the latter being far advanced in years, of an active lively disposition, and having a retentive memory, would frequently favour me with little anecdotes of the first settlers in this neighbourhood, which he had received from the parties themselves, in the early part of his life. Amongst the rest he related a little story which he had heard from an ancient friend at whose house he had lodged, of the name of Rebecca Wood. When a little girl she used sometimes to walk from Derby, where she resided, to Haverford meeting, the distance of a few miles. One day as she was walking along, she was overtaken by a friend on horseback, who proved to be William Penn. On coming up with her he inquired where she was going; and on her informing him, he, with his usual good nature, desired her to get up behind him; and, bringing his horse

to a convenient place, she mounted, and so rode away upon the bare back. Being without shoes or stockings, her bare legs and feet hung dangling by the side of the governor's horse. Although William Penn was at this time both governor and proprietor, he did not think it beneath him thus to help along a poor bare footed girl on her way to meeting; and notwithstanding the maxims and customs of the world, these little kind offices to those in low stations in life, were so far from lowering him in the estimation of those he was appointed to govern, that there perhaps never was a governor, who stood higher in the opinion of those governed by him, than William Penn did.

In repeating this anecdote, the old friend generally concluded her story with the observation, that, "there were no such governors now-a-days."

3d Month, 5th. I had the company of O. and J. J. the latter of whom related to me a transaction of his, when but about 14 years of age, which manifested a considerable degree of firmness in one so young. At the time of the revolution, a neighbour was condemned to death for his attachment to the English government. Under these melancholy circumstances, the near connexions of the sufferer, were anxious that the body of their unhappy relative, should be decently interred in the family burying ground at Merion; but con-

sidering to what a pitch of indignation the minds of the people were raised against him, it appeared to be a very hazardous task to take the body from the place of execution, surrounded by the great crowd of spectators who were there assembled, to be witnesses of the last struggles of their devoted countryman. However, J. J. although but a boy, undertook the task, and proceeding through the multitude, without any attendant, went up to the executioner, and demanding the body, brought it off in a hearse, himself being the driver; and conducted it safely to the relatives of the deceased. His youth and the singularity of the circumstance, seemed to command the respect of the multitude.

3d Month, 8th. I came from Philadelphia to Merion. The sun now having considerable power, I was struck with the loud chirping noise, that issued from every little pond or pool of water, as I passed along, which, I was informed, proceeded from a species of lizard that inhabits those places, and is commonly the first of the animal creation to usher in the spring. The chirping of these lizards in the spring, and of the tree-frog in summer, form no inconsiderable part of the rural sounds we are accustomed to hear in America; to which might be added the notes of various other kinds of frogs; particularly of the deep toned bull frog, which in a still summer's evening, when the wind has been favourable, I have sometimes heard

at the distance of more than a mile. Although these sounds are strange to an English ear, yet there is something in them which is far from being unpleasant.

3d Month, 16th. In the forenoon I attended Merion meeting, and spent the afternoon at R. J.'s, who entertained me with an account of the manner in which Phineas Pemberton and his wife, first became acquainted with each other; and they being the first of that family who came to America, the story was interesting:—Phineas, when a boy, was an apprentice to a grocer in Manchester, and I believe the house in which he lived is still standing, as J. P. one of his descendants, on his late visit to England, had the curiosity to take a look at it, when in that neighbourhood. It happened, on a market-day, that whilst Phineas was serving the customers, there came in a country friend and his daughter, of the name of Harrison, to purchase groceries for the family; and as they waited to be served, the daughter, who was but a little girl, employed herself in eating cherries out of a small basket she had brought with her. As soon as Phineas was at liberty, he furnished the friend and his daughter with the groceries they wanted; and the little girl having some of her cherries to spare, gave them to Phineas. Pleased with her generosity, he insisted upon her taking a paper of

raisins in return. From this trifling circumstance, an attachment originated which ended but with their lives. They were united in marriage when of a suitable age; soon after which they emigrated to America, and afterwards became the heads of one of the most respectable families in Philadelphia. The young woman's father also went over to America with them.

In recurring to the little story of Phineas Pemberton, we have an example of the instability of things in this changing scene. It is but a very few years past that several branches of this family, seemed to stand foremost in rank both in the society, and in the American world in general; and there was every probability that the name and family might continue numerous and respectable for many generations. But, if I recollect right, at the time I am writing, James Pemberton, who is now about 84 years of age, is the only remaining branch of the family who bears the name; and if he should be the last, it may be truly said, that the sun of the family has gone down in brightness.*

3d Month, 25th. I came to Philadelphia, where I supped and spent the evening at John Elliott's, an ancient valuable friend, a native of Leicester.

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* See Note, page 46.

He left England in early life, along with his parents, who, having imbibed favourable sentiments of America, had bidden a final farewell to their native land. In the recollection of this friend, I have often thought that the general tenor of his life and conversation, possessed as much of what I should call sterling christianity, as I have ever observed in any other man. In him were seen the innocence and simplicity of a child, although he was a man of considerable literary attainments and reputation in the world. Through life he had been an active and able advocate of the enslaved Africans; and, though not backward in giving a sentiment on the passing public transactions of the day, he was far from being a busy-body in matters of this kind; and such was the religious subjection into which his mind was brought, that, in lamenting or approving the measures of those in authority, it was done with a meekness and calmness, which evinced that he was biassed by no narrow, party spirit in the observations he made; but that they were the effusions of a heart "which felt and cared for all." Being an industrious man, and successful in business, he had the means, as well as the inclination, of serving his friends and strangers. Frequent opportunities of the latter offered in this city, where emigrants from almost every nation in Europe, are often arriving.

3d Month, 26th, I was accompanied by John Parish to A. W.'s, at whose house we supped and spent the evening. A. W. some years since, accompanied J. P. on a religious visit to friends at Pyrmont, and was with him in that place when he departed this life, in the assurance of a happy eternity. On A. W.'s return, he had to pass through a part of the country occupied by the allied army, then engaged in its operations against France. He was seized and taken before the commanding officer, who took great offence at his plain language, and not taking off his hat; and, after a good deal of abusive language, struck him to the ground. Afterwards, when A. W. had time given him to explain who and what he was, the General appeared extremely ashamed of his conduct, and extorted a promise from him, that he would not expose him on account of this cruel and unworthy behaviour towards a peaceable stranger. For this reason, in repeating the story, he always avoided giving the name of the General.

After passing the limits of the German lines, he soon came within those of the French army, commanded by General Moreau, and was taken before him by some of the soldiers on the outposts; but here he was treated with great kindness, and a passport was given him, which enabled him to pursue his journey without farther molestation. About the time that I am writing, General

Moreau being exiled to America by the French Emperor, A. W. has had an opportunity of acknowledging, and of returning his kindness. The General has taken up his residence about 20 miles from Philadelphia, having his wife and family with him. Several friends paid a good deal of attention to them, on account of his humane and generous conduct. Thus this little act of generosity to an unprotected stranger, proved the cause of many kind attentions to himself and family, when the scene was changed, and when he, from being a victorious General, commanding a powerful army, was become an exile in a foreign land. This little history affords a useful lesson to men in power.

3d Month, 27th, was employed in writing to my family and friends in England; and, with my letters, I forwarded a number of John Parish's pamphlets on the Slave Trade, at the author's request.

3d Month, 29th. I supped and spent the evening at R. B.'s, at Merion, and observed in his yard a Negro of an interesting countenance. On inquiring who he was, H. B. informed me, that a few days ago the poor man came up from Delaware State, and, at the recommendation of his brother, H. B. had taken him into his family for protection. At the same time he related to me the following narrative: — Some time since the

master of this black slave died, leaving behind him a widow, and one son, a profligate young man. As the master lay on his death-bed, he called this faithful slave to him, and taking him by the hand, told him that he felt his end was fast approaching, and that his mistress would have little to depend upon for her support, except what she might be able to make of his labour; and therefore he begged that he would continue to be faithful to her, after the master should be laid in the silent grave. In a very short time the master died, and the slave continued his services to his mistress, and much to her satisfaction; enabling her, for several years, to live comfortably, and also to administer to the wants of her profligate son; so that, under a grateful sense of his worth, she determined to make this black man free, and also his family, consisting of a wife and three children. A writing was accordingly drawn up, and duly executed, whereby they were all liberated; and the happiness of this family, under these circumstances, may be more easily conceived than described.

Their industry and sobriety, manifested whilst in bondage, now had its full effect; and all went on happily and comfortably, until the profligate son, before mentioned, who had by idleness and drunkenness reduced himself to extreme necessity, conceived the cruel plan of invalidating the indenture which his mother had executed, to

give this worthy Negro family their liberty; and actually sold the father, mother, and the three children, to a company of Georgia slave dealers, who were then in the neighbourhood. They being conscious that the young man had no right thus to sell the family, had determined to take them away in the dead of the night, to preclude the possibility of applying to any magistrate for protection. However, the Negro had got some intimation of what was going forward, and, in consequence, kept loaded fire arms in his house, being determined to shoot any person who should attempt to break into his habitation. These precautions being known to the slave dealers, they, for some time, did not venture to molest him; but he and his wife being soon wearied with living in this state of anxious suspence, consulted a fellow Negro, in whom they placed confidence, as to their best method of proceeding; and it was concluded that the whole family should leave that part of the country, and settle in Pennsylvania, as soon as possible; where they would be out of the reach of the slave dealers.

No sooner was this determination come to, than their perfidious friend, for the sake of a trifling reward, went to the Georgia slave traders, to betray the whole family into their hands; and, in the middle of the night, they were seized, bound, and forcibly taken from their comfortable habitation, in order to be put on board a small sloop which lay in the

river, near at hand. On coming near the river, the poor black man, who had been placed on horseback, behind one of these Georgia men, suddenly broke loose, and leaping from the horse, plunged headlong into the river, which he quickly swam across, and, getting into the woods, escaped from his inhuman pursuers. On this occasion, the agitation of the poor wife and children was beyond expression; and to silence the shrieks and cries of this miserable family, these unprincipled men beat them unmercifully; and the last which the poor Negro man saw of this scene, as he fled into the woods, was their beating his wife upon the head, in the most brutal manner. To a person who has not been an eye-witness to such scenes, it may appear incredible that transactions of so attrocious nature, could occur under a form of government like that of the United States; but the slavery of the Negroes having long since been introduced, the evil consequences resulting from it have not yet been rooted out of the Southern States; where a warm climate seems to have enervated both the bodies and the minds of the white inhabitants. It is, however, to the credit of the people of Pennsylvania, and the States to the eastward and northward of them, that almost every thing in their power has been done to induce their southern neighbours to relinquish the infamous, and debasing system of personal slavery; and there can be scarcely a doubt, if they persevere in their

honourable endeavours, that they will, in the end, be crowned with success.

In conversation this evening with Samuel Bryant, a son of the Judge of that name, he mentioned that Doctor Franklin was an intimate friend of his father's, and that in consequence there was a frequent intercourse between the two families. Amongst a number of anecdotes relating to the Doctor, he recited one, respecting his religious opinions, which appeared to me worth preserving: It is as follows:—At the time the Doctor lay upon his death-bed, he was visited by a young man who had a great respect for his judgment in all things; and having entertained doubts in his own mind, as to the truth of the scriptures, he thought that this awful period, afforded a suitable opportunity of consulting the Doctor on this important subject. Accordingly he introduced it in a solemn weighty manner, inquiring of the Doctor what were his sentiments as to the truth of the scriptures. On the question being put, although he was in a very weak state and near his close, he replied, "Young man! my advice to you is, that you cultivate an acquaintance with, and a firm belief in the Holy Scriptures; this is your certain interest."

CHAPTER XIII.

Woodside.—Account of Captain H.—A Substitute for Soap.—Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia.—Merion Meeting-House.—Violent Tempest.—Dreadful Massacre of the Conestoga Indians.

2d of 4th Month, 1806. I spent this evening at O. J.'s country house, in the vicinity of Merion. It is a large handsome building, beautifully situated, and commanding a fine prospect of the Delaware for many miles below Philadelphia. The farm is under the direction of a free Negro, and appears to be well managed.

6th of 4th Month. I attended Merion meeting, and spent the afternoon at Woodside. This is a beautiful spot, commanding a fine view of Philadelphia and of the country round it, although about 5 or 6 miles distant from that city. This was formerly the residence of Governor Mifflin. It has since been much improved and beautified, at considerable expense by the present proprietor G. A. Yet one of the greatest ornaments about the house, is his worthy father-in-law, John Parish. Though far advanced in life, and grown old in his services to the Negroes and Indians, whose steady advocate he has been, a long series of years, yet his conversation is still as lively and interesting as that of any young person. In the course of the after-

noon he read over several communications he had received from both Blacks and Indians; some of which were highly interesting.

10*th of* 4*th Month.* Amongst those of my acquaintance in Philadelphia, at whose houses I have been generously entertained, was Captain H. whom I had seen at Liverpool. I mention his name in this place, to introduce an account of a remarkable preservation which he experienced not long ago, attended with some circumstances generally known in Philadelphia:—He had been for some time commander of a ship in the East India trade, and had acquitted himself so much to the satisfaction of his employers, that he was engaged to go out again in that trade, as commander of the Hindostan, in which very large property was embarked. The whole management of the outfit had been committed to his care, and every thing being made ready for the voyage, the vessel was on the point of sailing. At this period he found his mind so oppressed at the prospect of the voyage, that he felt himself under the necessity of requesting the owners of the ship, to liberate him from his engagement of taking the command; but could assign no other reason than the oppression on his mind at the prospect of the voyage before him; observing, that he had no apprehension the ship would not prosecute her voyage in safety. He further stated, that as far as concerned himself,

he could not feel satisfied to take the command of her; but considering his engagements, he was determined to fulfil them as far as lay in his power, if it was *insisted* upon.

The owners, at first, seemed disposed to enforce his compliance; yet, after a little time of reflection, they gave up the point, there being several well-qualified Captains ready to supply his place. The command of an Indiaman is a situation eagerly sought after, being considered the most profitable of any in the commercial line, as it affords many opportunities of making larger profits than any other trade. Another Captain was accordingly appointed in the place of Captain H. and the Hindostan left Philadelphia, in appearance as fine a ship as had of late sailed from that port; but she was never heard of after she left the Delaware.

Thus was Captain H. preserved to his family and friends, by duly attending to those urgent, though incomprehensible impressions upon his mind. Some years afterwards he brought over M. R. to England, on her return from her last visit to America.

4th Month, 14*th*, I went to Philadelphia, whence I transmitted some letters to my friends in England by way of New-York; and, in the afternoon, in company with R. E. we rode over to J. H.'s, and

supped and spent the evening at his house on the banks of the Schuylkil; where he has a productive farm, which appears to be well managed. The road up to the house was planted on each side with English quicksets, which appeared to thrive better than any I had seen in this country. I understand that the winters here are generally too sharp for them, so that they rarely answer as a fence. However, the native American thorn makes a good hedge; and, in some parts of the Delaware State, I have seen it used to considerable advantage. It is a much greater ornament to a plantation, than either the common worm fence, or that of the posts and rails which generally prevails throughout the United States. The farmers object to hedges in general, alleging that they harbour birds and vermin of different kinds, which injure the crops.

4th Month, 15th, 16th, and 17th, were spent at Merion and in its neighbourhood. In the economy of a family in this country, I frequently observed a practice well worthy of imitation, where soap is an expensive article. In many families it is the custom to preserve the bones that are collected in the kitchen after a meal. When a sufficient quantity is obtained, they are put into a pan provided for the purpose, and some lie, made from wood ashes, is poured upon them. The pan being placed near the fire, if the lie is of sufficient strength to

float an egg, it soon extracts all the fat; and dissolves the gristly parts in the course of a day or two. The bones are then taken out, and the liquor is left near the fire, and kept to a gentle boiling heat, or near it, another day or two; or until the liquor has attained a ropy consistence. It will then answer all the purposes of soap; and, if a proper quantity of common salt be added, it hardens and becomes real soap. Many families in America never use any other kind.

4th Month, 21*st*. I came to Philadelphia, and attended the first sitting of the yearly meeting, which began at ten o'clock this morning. The number of friends attending was great; but it would be difficult to form a correct estimate of the whole; yet I suppose there were not less than two thousand men friends present. One of the door-keepers at Arch-street meeting-house, where the women friends assembled to transact their business, had the curiosity to count them as they came out; and found that upwards of nineteen hundred females had been assembled there. After opening the meeting, friends proceeded to answer the queries, and went through seven of them. It was pleasant to observe that a large proportion of those who attended were young persons; to whom many instructive observations were made. After an agreeable sitting of about two hours, the meeting adjourned until the afternoon. Between meet-

ings I dined and spent an hour or two very pleasantly at John Elliot's, where I had the company of many friends from different parts of the Continent of America.

In the afternoon I attended the second sitting of the yearly meeting; when the answers to the remaining queries were read; and several reports respecting the establishment of schools, and the instruction of the native Indians, were brought in and taken into consideration.

4th Month, 22d. At nine o'clock I attended the third sitting of the yearly meeting. After appointing a committee to hear and judge of an appeal, the general epistle from the yearly meeting in London was read; and six thousand copies of it, were ordered to be printed and distributed through the inferior meetings. Epistles from the different yearly meetings on this continent were also read.

After meeting I dined at David Bacon's, in company with H. J. a friend who had devoted some years to the instruction of the Indians, in the useful arts of civilized life, during which time he dwelt amongst them on the banks of the Allegany river. From the conversation I had with this friend, as well as with others who had given up

much of their time to the same purpose, it will probably be a work of time, requiring a long exercise of patience and perseverance, before the Indians can be brought into a state of complete civilization. It has often appeared to me that there is a natural wildness and quickness in them, which all the pains or labour of the well-disposed white inhabitants, will find it difficult to subdue. However, there are different degrees of stability and prudential care amongst these people, in their natural state; many amongst them paying some attention to agricultural pursuits, and, in summer, providing for the wants of winter; whilst others disclaim all thought or care for the future; and hold in contempt all their neighbours, who depend on any other means for support than hunting. Although friends reside amongst them, they are still, at certain times, in the practice of sacrificing to idols of their own carving, some of which were in the form of an Indian warrior of a gigantic stature; to whom they sacrificed dogs, &c. Notwithstanding this, they hold a tradition that the universe was created, and is supported, by an all-powerful Being, whom they call the Great Spirit; whose influence is felt in every human breast, approving for good, and reproving for evil.

22*d of 4th Month.* At three o'clock in the afternoon of this day we met again, when the minutes of the meeting for sufferings were read, the consi-

deration of which occupied the remaining part of this fourth sitting.

4th Month, 23d. We met again this morning at nine o'clock, it being the fifth sitting; when the state of the society, as set forth in the answers to the queries, was taken into consideration, and much advice was given on the subject of the deficiences that appeared.

We met again at three o'clock, it being the sixth sitting; when the report of the state of West-Town school was read, and several subjects relating to that institution were considered.

4th Month, 24th. This forenoon, meetings for worship were held at the three different meeting-houses in the city. In the afternoon, at three o'clock, the yearly meeting resumed its business, this being the seventh sitting. The Committee of Appeals brought in their report in the case of H. J. who had appealed to the yearly meeting against the decision of her monthly and quarterly meetings. In the opening of this business, when the appellant was introduced into the men's yearly meeting, and inquired of by the clerk, if she continued in the mind to prosecute her appeal, she, in a becoming manner, replied that she came there for that purpose. After a fair and

candid hearing by the committee of the yearly meeting, appointed from the most impartial part of it, this poor woman, who had stood as it were single and alone, was restored to her right of membership in the society.

I believe that meetings for discipline sometimes lose their proper weight and authority, by active members getting into a cold, unfeeling manner of treating those who may have been brought under dealing. The habit of constantly speaking to cases which occur, endangers our getting into a customary form; and the mind, by this means, runs considerable risk of becoming less sensible of the tendering impressions of the divine influence. It is well frequently to remember this great truth, that the more closely we attend to this seasoning virtue, the more will our minds be clothed with meekness and charity, and we shall thereby be preserved from doing or saying any thing that may have a tendency to irritate or wound, even the smallest delinquent.

The business of the appeal being disposed of, the propriety of continuing the second day morning meeting was entered into; on which it was agreed, that the meeting should be discontinued, and a minute to that purpose was accordingly made. A report from the Committee on Indian Affairs was brought in and read, with a statement of the re-

ceipts and expenditure of the committee, by which it appeared that there remained a balance in the hands of the treasurer, of about 2000l. currency; a part of which sum was ordered to be handed to the Delaware tribe of Indians, whose forefathers had shown great kindness to Friends, on their first landing in this country; the recollection of which had great weight on Friends' minds at this time, in the distribution of this money. Thus the good deeds of the forefathers of this tribe of Indians, were visited upon their children's children, some of whom stood in great need of the assistance now afforded, and to whom it would be very useful in providing husbandry utensils, &c. &c. I observed that friends were generally careful not to hand their presents in money; but preferred sending them various kinds of tools both for husbandry and carpenters' work; and they would also, on some occasions, hire a workman to put them in a way of using their tools.

After the close of this sitting, a friend informed me that he had a prospect of removing to the Ohio, and shewed me two certificates of lands he had purchased in that State, said to be of excellent quality, for which he engaged to give 11s. 3d. per acre, to be paid by instalments at two, three, and four years. The number of friends who have emigrated into that State, in the course of the last few years, is said to exceed 800 families; and their

increase still continued to be so great, that the establishment of a new yearly meeting in those parts, began to be seriously thought of.

4th Month, 25th. I attended the eighth sitting of the yearly meeting, which began at ten o'clock this morning, and the whole of it was employed in the consideration of the report brought in by the committee appointed to revise the discipline.

In the afternoon we met again, at three o'clock, being the ninth sitting, and proceeded in the consideration of the report of the committee on the revision of the discipline.

4th Month, 26th. We met again at nine o'clock, being the tenth sitting. Friends were occupied during the whole time on the revision of the discipline, but chiefly on the subject of using and dealing in spiritous liquors, and of friends keeping inns. Much was said to discourage the practice, on account of the exposed situation of the families of those engaged in this line of business. On the other hand, it appeared to some, that were all inns in the hands of steady, consistent friends, it would be a great blessing to any country, and would have a tendency considerably to check that torrent of profligacy and dissipation, which too generally prevails in inns and taverns.

We met again at three o'clock in the afternoon, it being the eleventh sitting; when the meeting proceeded in its deliberations on the revision of the discipline.

4th Month, 27th. The first day of the week I attended the North Meeting in the forenoon; and in the afternoon, that held in Market-street. At the latter, R. M. a friend from the neighbourhood of New-York, in the course of his testimony, explained the difference between the terms wisdom and knowledge; the former embracing not only the knowledge of what is right, but also the practice of it; for this only, he said, was true wisdom. On the other hand, how many, alas! are possessed of the knowledge of what is right and good, but fall short in firmness and integrity to uphold and practice it. This, he said, was knowledge, but not wisdom.

4th Month, 28th. This morning, at nine o'clock, I attended the twelfth sitting of the yearly meeting; the fore part of which was occupied in the further discussion of the report of the committee on the revision of the discipline; and some alterations were finally agreed upon, and others were left for further consideration next year.

The meeting then proceeded to the reading and consideration of several epistles addressed to

different yearly meetings on this continent; and also of one to the yearly meeting in London; which, with some small alterations, were approved and adopted. After a solemn pause, and a prayer to the Divine Being, the meeting concluded its twelfth sitting, and the last for this year.

5th Month, 2d. I attended Merion week-day meeting, and spent the afternoon pleasantly in company with R. J. and H. B. whom I assisted in planting several paper-mulberry trees, on the vacant ground near the meeting-house, which were intended to be a shade for friends' horses in the summer season. There is generally a plot of ground round the country meeting-houses in America, sometimes of several acres, planted with shady trees, under which the horses and carriages of friends stand, during meeting time, and which forms a most interesting piece of scenery.

5th Month, 3d. At Merion I this day received letters from my wife and children dated the 14th of 2d Month, giving accounts of their welfare. Persons who have never removed from their native country, can hardly conceive the pleasure that is derived from the correspondence of near connexions when separated from them in a distant land.

5th Month, 4th. I attended Merion meeting it being 1st day, and afterwards had the company of R. S. and A. K. of Philadelphia to dinner. Those

two young men were both of them descendants of German parents who had left their native country, in order to enjoy the blessings of religious liberty in this land; a privilege which neither the Emperor, nor the petty Princes of Germany, had the good sense or the policy to allow.

5th Month, 9th. This day was remarkably tempestuous; and in the evening there was so great a light over the cities of Philadelphia and West Chester, that they appeared to be on fire; and next morning we received accounts, that in Philadelphia 30 good houses had been burnt down in a central part of the city, and that in West Chester two large ships were burnt. Within about two miles of my lodgings, the same evening, a powder mill was blown up, and one person who had the management of it, lost his life by the explosion. Not many days before the accident, being well acquainted with the man, I had some conversation with him on the danger of his occupation; but the great wages he received outweighed all apprehensions of his danger, and he seemed to have made up his mind to continue the employment, notwithstanding he had before been blown up, and narrowly escaped destruction, with the loss of one eye, and the use of several of his fingers. So many dreadful accidents happening around us at the same time called forth serious and awful reflections.

5th Month, 10*th*. Being invited by one of the proprietors, I accompanied him to the ruins of the powder mill which was yesterday destroyed; when I saw the remains of the poor man, who had lost his life by the explosion. His whole appearance was too shocking to be described. The afflicted widow, who was a young woman, and several small children, stood weeping round him.

5th Month, 17*th*. This afternoon I spent at R. J.'s. Whilst here, a drove of cows passed by on their way to Philadelphia market; one of them a handsome looking heifer, with a fine calf by her side, attracting R. J.'s attention, he bought them both for 3l. 12s.

5th Month, 27*th*. I had the company of R. J. to tea this afternoon, who presented me with an account of a most extraordinary persecution that was carried on in the year 1763, against the last remaining part of a particular tribe of Inndians. This tribe, from their residing at Conestoga, were called the Conestoga Indians. On the first arrival of the English in Pennsylvania, they sent messengers to welcome them, with presents of venison, corn, and skins; and entered into a treaty of friendship with William Penn. This treaty had been since frequently confirmed, and had never been violated, either on the part of the Indians or the English, until the time that these cruel transactions took

place. It has always been observed that Indians, settled in the neighbourhood of white people, continually diminish; and this tribe had dwindled away till there remained in the village no more than seven men, five women, and eight children. Of these, Shebeas, who was a very old man, had assisted at the treaty with William Penn in the year 1701, had ever since continued a faithful friend of the English, and bore the character of an exceedingly good man; for, considering his extraction, he was naturally of a most kind and benevolent temper. This little remnant of Indians were in the constant practice of addressing every new Governor of the Province, and they accordingly presented an address to John Penn, a new Governor, on his arrival; assuring him of their fidelity, and praying for a continuance of that favour and protection they had hitherto experienced.

This address was scarcely presented, when the horrible catastrophe occurred, which I am about to relate. In the townships of Paxton and Donegal, in the county of Lancaster, a number of people, actuated by the wildest religious enthusiasm, in which they were encouraged by some furious zealots amongst their preachers, conceived the notion that they ought to extirpate the heathen from the earth, as Joshua did some nations of old; that they themselves, as Saints, might possess the land. Fired with this dreadful kind of zeal, on

the 14th of the 12th Month, 1763, 57 men well mounted, and armed with firelocks, hatchets, and hangers, came down from the two before-mentioned townships, and, surrounding the little Indian village at dawn of day, broke in upon the inhabitants all at once, and fired upon, stabbed, and hewed in pieces the poor defenceless creatures who happened to be in their huts; among them the good old Shebeas was hewed in pieces in his bed. The daughter of the venerable Shebeas, who for several years past had devoted her time to waiting upon her beloved father, was also slain. After taking off the scalps of those that were thus murdered, and setting fire to the village, the murderers mounted their horses and rode away; disappointed in not having found all the Indians at home, 14 out of the 20 being absent. It is not, perhaps, in the power of language to express the feelings of the remaining 14 Indians, some of whom were little children, on their return to the village, when they beheld the mangled remains of their near and dear connexions, and saw their habitations a heap of smoking ruins.

The Magistrates of Lancaster, hearing of what had past, came over and took the survivors under their protection, doing all in their power to console them; and, taking them by the hand, led them to Lancaster; where, for their greater security, they lodged them in a strong stone building in the town, in which they were supposed to be in per-

fect safety. The Governor, John Penn, immediately issued a proclamation, enjoining all officers both civil and military, to assist in bringing to justice the perpetrators of this horrid outrage.

The remaining 14 Indians continued in the house provided for them in Lancaster, in the centre of the city, unconscious of danger, till the 27th of the 12th Month, being 13 days from the time their village had been destroyed. On that day a company of men, 50 in number, well mounted and armed, rode hastily into Lancaster, made the best of their way to the house where the poor Indians were lodged; with violence broke open the door; and with fury in their countenances rushed in upon these unarmed and defenceless creatures. The Indians seeing no protection nigh, nor any possibility of escape, immediately divided into their little families; the affrighted children clinging to their distressed parents. In unutterable anguish they fell upon their knees, protesting their love to the English people, and that, in their whole lives, they had never done them any injury. While thus imploring mercy of these hard-hearted men, they were, without distinction, hewn down with hatchets, and, in a few moments, were all laid lifeless on the floor; a deplorable instance amongst many others, of what a pitch of wickedness the mind of man

may be brought to, when acting under wrong impressions of imagined religious zeal. This cruel massacre was completed in one of the largest inland towns in America, in the broad face of day, and in so public a manner, that after the commission of this atrocious murder, the miscreants all came out and stood at the door of the house, besmeared with blood, gave three loud huzzas, mounted their horses, and rode away. Notwithstanding this publicity, and a proclamation by John Penn, the Governor, offering a reward of 200l. for the discovery of any of them, yet such was the dread in which they were held, that none of them were brought to justice.

CHAPTER XIV.

Dunkers—A Barn—Piazzas—Management of Sheep—Merion—Eclipse of the Sun—Summer Dress—James Simpson—Shad Fishery—Bee-eater—Wild Grapes—Crab Cyder—Hogs—Fire Flies.—Paper-Mills—Chesnut Trees—Harvest—Ancient Deed—J. Rowland. Wood Felling.—Indian Corn.

6th Month, 8th, 1806. I attended the Valley meeting, at which I noticed some of the Dunkers. They are a religious society who make a point of never taking off the beard. I observed a comely looking young man, whose beard had so luxuriant a growth, that it spread a considerable way over his breast, and gave him a very patriarchal appearance. At the close of the meeting several friends invited me to their houses, but being previously engaged, I accompanied M. R. and dined with him. After dinner he shewed me his barn, stables, &c. which are the most complete I have seen either in England or America. The barn is of stone and stands on descending ground, having a south aspect. It is about 40 yards in length by 10 in breadth, and 9 yards high in front. Along the north side of the barn is a range of vaults which communicate with it, and are on the same level with the barn. The centre vault, which communicates with the cow-house, is fitted up as a

dairy; and the other vaults are made use of to preserve roots, &c. for the cattle, such as beets, carrots, turnips, potatoes, pumpkins, &c. As the carriage-road into the barn runs over the vaults, as high as the topmost floor of the barn, the vaults are preserved cool in the summer, and free from the frost in winter. The whole of the ground floor of the barn being set apart for stables and cow-houses, as is commonly the case with barns in Pennsylvania, there is accommodation for a great number of horses and cows. Along the front of the barn, about 8 feet from the ground, a wooden stage projects about six feet from the wall, inclosed overhead six or seven feet high, and also at the ends and side, forming a gallery the length of the building; having several communications or door-ways out of the barn into it. In the floor of this gallery are several trap doors, through which they throw fodder for the cattle into the yard during the winter months. It is obvious that an appendage of this sort must be very useful in a farm-yard, as it also affords a comfortable shelter to the cattle from rain and snow.

In the afternoon M. R. accompanied me to my cousin W. B.'s, and, in our way, we passed over the ground occupied by the American Army under General Washington, as an entrenched camp, during the war. The remains of the entrenchments are still visible, although the scite is again

become a thick wood; so rapid is vegetation in this part of the world.

After fording the Schuylkill, which is here broad and shallow, having several islands in it covered with lofty trees, we came upon W. B.'s plantation, and soon afterwards reached his habitation. We found the family sitting in the shade of the piazza, in the front of the house, where we joined them in taking tea, and enjoyed the freshness of the breeze, and a beautiful pospect of a great part of the country between his house and Philadelphia, a distance of about 20 miles; and in the pleasantest part of Pennsylvania. The privilege of sitting under the shade of these piazzas, enjoying the fresh air in the afternoons and evenings, fully compensates for any inconvenience that is suffered from the heat, in the warmest part of the day. These piazzas are commonly six feet wide with boarded floors. On seeing families seated in them in their tranquil summer evenings, it constantly reminded of the patriarchs of old, sitting at the doors of their tents in the cool of the day.

6th Month, 11*th*, was pleasantly spent at the house of a relation; and it was gratifying to find that he was paying considerable attention to his flock of sheep, also that his labours were in a fair way of being crowned with success. Hitherto the farmers in

this part of the world, have paid but little attention to their sheep, suffering the butchers to select the best formed for the market, leaving the most ordinary for stock. The natural consequence of such a plan was that the breed continually degenerated. Against this mode of proceeding my relation had the good sense to remonstrate, and to reserve for stock the best part of his flock. The beneficial effects of this plan are so manifest, that I have no doubt the neighbouring farmers will be induced to follow his example. I think I have before noticed how fond the cattle are of salt in these parts. At the front of the house is a beautiful lawn of many acres, gently descending towards the Schuylkill, in which nearly 100 sheep were feeding; and so partial were they to salt, that I have seen the girls go amongst them with a handful of it, and by scattering a little amongst them, entice the whole flock up to the house.

6th Month, 12*th*. In coming down to Philadelphia, I noticed that the turnpike-road crosses a fine vein of marble, which, at a little distance, is worked to great advantage.

6th Month, 14*th*. I attended a meeting at Merion, of which public notice had been given, on account of James Simpson, a Minister, who intended being there. In consequence the house was well filled, chiefly by persons of other persua-

sions; amongst them, were one Senator, four Judges, and four Magistrates, who all behaved in a becoming manner. This friend is far advanced in years, and much esteemed by friends in Philadelphia and the neighbourhood; yet he follows the occupation of a broom-maker, and frequently comes down to that city in a handsome little carriage, loaded with his manufactures. Although a broom-maker may be accounted a mean occupation with some men, yet few pastors stand higher in the estimation of their flocks than he does.

6th Month, 16th. This day was remarkable for an almost total eclipse of the sun. About eleven o'clock in the forenoon, I passed along the road from my lodgings to H. B.'s, when all seemed as quiet as at midnight; some stars appearing, and the birds being gone to roost. Although not so dark as it commonly is in the night, yet there was something awful in the stillness and appearance of the scene, there being scarcely a breath of air stirring. The portion of the sun that was visible, was only about a 24th part, and it cast a faint glimmering light through the leaves of the trees, the shadows of which appeared like shell-work upon the ground.

6th Month, 26th. The weather now becoming warm, I had noticed several little boys and girls come to the meeting at Merion, without shoes and

stockings, although in other respects well dressed; a number of men friends also, in the upper seats, sat without coats and stockings, having long cotton trowsers which came down to their shoe tops. One young man who sometimes appears in the ministry acceptably, had on a striped, cotton jacket and trowsers, and a drab hat. Although these appearances in dress are not familiar to an Englishman, yet habit soon reconciles us to them. And a person who has not experienced it, can hardly conceive how pleasant a light dress is in these warm climates, as, at every motion, the limbs are so free from obstructions. After a long warm summer, when the cold weather first comes on, the incumbrance of heavy clothing is much greater than might be expected.

6th Month, 28th. This evening I was in company with James Simpson, he still continuing his religious visits in this neighbourhood. I have already mentioned this friend with respect, but to describe him completely would be a difficult task; as it may be truly said that in person and dress, as well as in the manner and subject of his ministry, he is truly an original.* In his external appearance, he is thin and upwards of six feet high, his visage is very long, and his face of an Indian complexion, with small, quick eyes corresponding, and, to appearance, he may be about 80 years

* He is since deceased.

of age. In the gallery he commonly wears a dark coloured cotton cap, fitting closely to his head, and over his shoulders a long dark coloured cloak. Notwithstanding his singular appearance, he is not less remarkable in his manner when exercised in the gallery. He uses considerable action and gesticulation, and his testimonies, in general, are almost a continual exposition of the Mosaic Law, with references to the counterpart in the Gospel dispensation, which he explains in a way that I never heard equalled, and with a volubility of expression, and quickness of recollection, that are astonishing to a stranger.

6th Month, 29th. I this morning paid a visit to J. J. and his wife, at their habitation. This family, with many others I have met with, contradict a notion which prevails in England, "That the Americans are generally short lived." The husband is in his 95th year, and his wife in her 89th year. One of her sisters is of the same age, and another sister is in her 85th year; and all of them may, from every appearance, live some years longer. J. J. told me, that he had often heard his father speak of his having seen the foundation laid of the first house that was built in Philadelphia; and I understood that he was one of William Penn's most intimate friends.

I spent this evening at B. J.'s country residence. This house, which is substantial and well built,

and finished in an expensive manner, stands on a rising ground just above the Falls of the Schuylkill, commanding a fine prospect of Philadelphia and the river Delaware, both above and below that city, being only about four miles distant. The prospect embraces many beautiful country residences on every hand. B. J. had lately made a purchase of the house and 35 acres of land adjoining. In this purchase was also included a good farm-house, with an orchard, garden, outhouses, and a cottage or two. In one of these cottages, close by the Falls, a family resides, who are employed by B. J. in the bookbinding business. The situation is as pleasant as can well be conceived.

At this part of the river, the Shad Fishery is prosecuted with great spirit in the early part of summer. Almost every farmer who happens to have a field on the banks of the river, keeps a net for this purpose; and, with a little industry, may, in the course of two or three weeks, lay up a supply for the whole year. The fish are salted, and are brought out, through the winter, as a relish at breakfast and supper.

I have sometimes stood by in the evening watching the people taking these fish. The nets used are about 50 or 60 yards in length, and about 6 feet in width; the lower side being weighted with lead, and the upper side supported with pieces of cork. One

end of the net is fixed firm to a stake on the edge of the river, whilst the other end is taken out in a small boat towards the other side. After getting to the extent of it, the boat is rowed down the river, bringing the end of the net with it, and at length it comes to land, a little below the stake to which the other end of the net is fastened, forming a circular inclosure, within which the fish are secured. As the net approaches the bank of the river, the fishes are seen struggling in all directions; till at last they are brought close to the shore, when they are quickly gathered up, and thrown into the boat. Several hundreds are, at times, taken at one draught; but as the fishing is continued through the night, during the season, the farmers often think themselves well paid with 20 or 30, as they weigh about 5 pounds each.

In the early part of the season, I think the shad is nearly equal to trout. Although the practice of eating it at breakfast and supper, is not common in England, I soon found myself very partial to the shad at breakfast, with coffee and toast, it being first nicely broiled over the hot embers of a wood fire.

7th Month, 1*st*. In walking this day, I observed the people to be generally engaged in reaping barley, wheat, and rye. The farmers here

get in their harvest with little difficulty, in consequence of the clear settled weather which generally prevails during their long summers. Unsound grain is a thing scarcely ever heard of.

7th Month, 2d. I spent the afternoon and drank tea at H. B.'s. His bee-hives having been considerably annoyed by a bird, called the Bee-eater, he took out his fowling-piece, and shot one of them; and on opening the craw, we found many bees which it had devoured. So destructive are these birds, that a nest of them would destroy several hives in the course of a summer, if left undisturbed.

7th Month, 3d. I attended the Preparative Meeting at Merion, and in the evening had a pleasant walk to Dr. H.'s. A considerable part of the road leading to his house, is lined with cedar, sasafras, shumack, sweet chesnut, &c. &c. but what has a most singular and pleasing effect is, that most of the higher trees are entirely overgrown with vines, which spread over them with great luxuriance; and, when the grapes are ripe, present a very inviting appearance. They are of a small black kind, and very pleasant to the palate, particularly in pies and tarts; in which, according to my taste, they exceed almost every other kind of fruit. They are often preserved in jars, for this purpose, to be used in winter. Some of the

best wine I ever tasted, was made from this kind of grape.

7th Month, 5th, was employed in business at Philadelphia, where I dined with my hospitable friends J. and A. W. In the evening I paid the bride's visit to S. N. She was the relict of the late W. S. and is a worthy friend. T. N. her husband, having been a kind and intimate friend of W. S.'s, had been appointed by him as his executor. Being of an open generous disposition, and possessing amply the means to indulge such an inclination, after waiting a suitable time, he made the widow an offer of marriage; which was in due season accepted. Thus he may at once, fill the character of husband, and fulfil the trust reposed in him by his deceased friend. I have heard T. N. mention, that he left England with his parents, when about four years old, and that he had no recollection of any thing in that country, except the skylark, which he well remembered to have heard singing in the air. This friend is one amongst many I have known in this country who have emigrated from England, and have been successful in business; but who are seldom heard of in their native land.

7th Month, 6th. After attending meeting, I accompanied R. J. to his brother J. J.'s where

we drank tea. Before we left his house, he gave us a taste of his cyder, made from a species of apple, called the Virginia crab, the produce of his own orchard. It was superior to any liquor I have ever tasted of the kind; indeed I have seldom drank a glass of wine equal to it, either as to body or flavour.

Afterwards we called upon D. J. an ancient friend, whose parents were amongst the first settlers of this province. In the evening we called upon J. Z. a friend whose progenitors came from Germany. On my noticing a number of fine hogs in his orchard, which appeared very attentive to the fall of the fruit, he told me that he annually brought up about 20 of them, which derived a great part of their support from peaches, apples, &c. during the day; and, in the evenings and mornings, they were supplied with milk from his dairy. As he made a considerable quantity of butter for the Philadelphia market, the old milk and butter milk went in aid of the fruit in the orchard, to bring forward the hogs, which are fatted with Indian corn, at the close of the year, to a large size.

7th Month, 7th. In the evening we called upon H. B. who was engaged amongst his reapers in the wheat field. He calculated that his produce this year would be 30 bushels of wheat per acre;

an increase which must pay the farmer well, where the land, generally speaking, is rented at 10s. an acre per annum; there being no tithes, and the taxes amounting to scarcely 1s. per acre.

7th Month, 9th. The evening being serene and pleasant, I took a walk in company with our neighbour R. B. and visited some of the neighbouring families. Although this may be deemed the hottest season of the year, I found no inconvenience from the exercise of walking, but it must be remembered that our clothing was very light. In passing along we were entertained with the appearance of great quantities of fire flies, in the fields and woods around us. They had the appearance of immense quantities of bright sparks of fire, flying in all directions amongst the grass and corn, as well as the leaves and boughs of the loftiest trees.

7th Month, 15th. Having been several times kindly invited, I dined with P. W. a respectable paper-maker in the neighbourhood of Merion, where I spent the afternoon pleasantly. The situation is beautifully romantic, being in a deep narrow valley, the steep hills on each side of which are covered with wood. The mill which would be considered as an extensive one even in England, is almost wholly employed in making writing and

printing paper, with large quantities of which he supplies the printers and stationers in Philadelphia. During the visit he gave me a little history of his life. About 20 years ago, being then 12 years of age, he left Mentz, his native place in Germany, accompanied by his father, who died on the passage to this country. Being of that class of emigrants called redemptioners already mentioned, P. W. on the arrival of the ship in the Delaware, was hired by Henry Drinker, and was employed about the house as a waiting boy, and assistant to the girls in the kitchen. After spending nearly four years in this family, and having acquired the English language, he had the good sense to discern, that it would be more to his interest to be taught some manufacture; and requested liberty of his master to be put apprentice to a paper-maker, which was readily granted, although his first indenture was not yet expired. After having obtained a knowledge of the manufacture of paper, he, by industry and care, acquired sufficient property and credit to enable him to begin business; which he has now, for several years, carried on to advantage. I never was in a paper-mill where the business was managed with more neatness and order. As I sat in the house it was pleasant to reflect on such an instance of successful industry. He has a rising family of healthy looking children about him, with an amiable wife and several sisters.

In returning to my lodgings, I had the curiosity to take the dimensions of a chesnut tree, of the sweet kind, which stood by the way side; and found it more than 27 feet in circumference, and its thickness continued in a regular proportion to the height of about seven yards, which was the length of the bole, clear of branches.

7th Month, 16*th*. I have noticed for a day or two past, that the harvest for wheat, rye, and barley, is entirely over, not having continued more than two weeks. The serene and settled weather generally prevalent here, with the practice of work people of all descriptions turning into the harvest field, makes short work of it. It is not customary here, as in England, for the women to work in the harvest field at all. In this neighbourhood the blacksmiths, wheelwrights, weavers, taylors, &c. &c. all shut up their shops to assist the farmers.

7th Month, 20*th*. I attended Merion meeting, and in the afternoon visited an ancient friend of the name of Mary Price, who, although upwards of 80 years of age, generally walks about a mile to meeting; and, considering her years, continues to be an active, lively woman. At her house I was shewn a deed of conveyance, of five thousand acres of land, the purchase-money for which was one hundred pounds, reserving a quit-rent to William

Penn and his heirs, of 1s. per acre. The same land, where inclosed, now sells for 12l. per acre, being a six hundred fold advance in the course of 120 years, on the intrinsic value of the land. The above-mentioned deed was a conveyance from Charles Lloyd, and a female of the name of Davies, to a person of the name of Humphreys. This deed is in the hands of M. P.'s daughter-in-law, who is a descendant of the Lloyds of Dollebran.

7th Month, 21*st*, was employed in writing to my wife and family, when I informed them of my intention of sailing for England, in the John Morgan, Captain Bunker, with whom I was well acquainted, and whom I knew to be a skilful, careful seaman; but notwithstanding my intentions, I was prevented, by unforeseen circumstances, from sailing in this ship; for which I have reason to be thankful, as in her voyage to England she struck upon a rock in the night, on the coast of the Isle of Man, and was lost.

7th Month, 22*d*. I had a pleasant walk to the Falls of the Schuylkill, having business to transact with a person there. On my way thither, I was informed of the decease of Joshua Rowland, an amiable young man, of Lewis-Town, near the mouth of the Delaware. Although not more than 25 years old, his loss will be severely felt by

the black people in that neighbourhood. He had been an ardent and steady friend to that oppressed race, and the means of rescuing many of them from a state of slavery, who had been cruelly forced into bondage, by a set of unprincipled men, from the Georgias, who sometimes hover about this part of the Delaware State and Maryland, and carry off whole families of free Negroes in the night. They take them on board small vessels, in the neighbouring creeks, and so ship them off to the Georgias and Carolinas, where they are sold to the planters.

I have seen several of the black people whom he had rescued and sent up to his brother-in-law, Henry Bowman. The latter had procured them situations in the interior of Pennsylvania, out of the reach of these barbarous men. Not long ago, a mother, with seven children, was thus carried off, in the dead of the night, from his neighbourhood. This flagrant act deeply excited J. Rowland's attention; and, after riding nearly one thousand miles, he was enabled to rescue the whole family, and bring them safe home to their native place, although they had been dispersed and sold into various hands, by the kidnappers, in different parts of Georgia.

A very short time back, this excellent young man was taken ill of a fever, which, notwithstanding every help was afforded him, made so

regular yet rapid a progress, that in a few days all hopes of his recovery were at an end. Through the whole, his mind was preserved calm and serene, and, when sensible that the closing period of time was at hand, he requested that his domestics might be called into the room. These consisted of two white servants, two Negro boys, and a little orphan girl, whose mother had been many years a nurse in the family, out of respect to whom, he supported and educated the child. The mind may conceive the situation and feelings of this little group, yet I am ready to believe it is impossible for the pen to describe it. After a short but awful pause, he addressed each of them in the language and accents of a father; for indeed as a parent he had always conducted himself towards them. Having communicated to them counsel and advice suited to their several states and conditions, he gently turned his face from them, and quietly resigned himself, and left the world without a sigh or struggle; a bright example of faithfulness to his Divine Master, and a more intelligible exposition of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, than whole volumes of controversy.

7th Month, 23d and 24th. I continued at my lodgings at Merion, making some arrangements for my return to England.

I have sometimes noticed how expert the people of America are with the saw and the axe, and as

an instance of their dexterity, I may mention what a very respectable millwright, whose veracity may be relied on, this day told me. He said that himself and one assistant had cut down, in one day, 35 forest trees, of which a considerable part were oak, and which averaged 6 feet in circumference. He added, that on using extraordinary exertion, they cut down one tree of this bulk in $7\frac{1}{2}$ minutes.

7th Month, 27th, 28th, and 29th. I was employed in preparations for my return home, the prospect of which was more pleasing to me than I can express. In walking out into the fields about this time, I noticed the crops of Indian corn in the neighbourhood, which, in the line of husbandry, are truly grand and beautiful at this season of the year, far exceeding any thing of the kind to be met with in England. Many of the plants rise to the height of 10 or 12 feet, terminating at the top with an elegant kind of flower somewhat resembling a tuft of feathers. The leaves or blades which shoot from the stalk, and branch from it all the way up, are about the breadth of four inches, and from two to three feet in length. The whole gives a field of Indian corn a most luxuriant appearance.

CHAPTER XV.

Several brief Narrations—Occurrence relative to the Author's Voyage Home, &c.—Iron Works—Two German Families—Marble Quarry—A Farm—Emigrants—Taking leave of his Friends about Merion, intending for New-York—Occurrences on the Journey—Embarks for England—Cabin Company—Occurrences on the Voyage.

8th Month, 1st and 2d, 1806, were mostly spent at B. J.'s pleasant residence on the Schuylkill Falls. Whilst here we visited the works of a calico printer, who resides and carries on his business in the neighbourhood. We were informed that his principal business was printing India calicoes, which are brought in great quantities to Philadelphia, in American ships trading to the East Indies.

8th Month, 4th. In the course of this day, O. J. and his mother-in-law called upon us. This venerable female, who is now far advanced in years, has survived a numerous flock of lovely daughters, I think 10 in number, who have, in succession, been taken away from the troubles of time, just as the affections of a mother would be likely to feel most keenly the privation.

I had often remarked a settled grief upon her countenance, notwithstanding the affluence that was manifest in every thing around her; but had

American friends going to meeting in summer.

not heard the mournful story till I had it from her own mouth.

8th Month, 6th. I had received several kind invitations from both J. and C. S. to pay them a visit at their habitations, at Shoemakers Town, before I left this country. They are a family for whom I have entertained a great esteem, ever since I have known them; and the quarterly meeting at Abington falling at this time, I proposed embracing both objects; and, setting out after dinner, came to C. S.'s this evening. Here I was hospitably entertained, and had the agreeable company of several friends from Philadelphia and the neighbourhood.

8th Month, 7th. I accompanied this party of friends to Abington quarterly meeting, which was very large. The meeting-house is a regular, well-built, brick building, and capable of holding a great number of people. It is situated on a piece of ground containing several acres, and which is covered with a great number of large forest trees.

8th Month, 8th. After breakfast we returned to J. S.'s, where we spent an hour or two pleasantly, with a number of valuable friends resident in this quarter. The weather was very warm, but the house was spacious, with wide passages

through it, and no want of windows; and they with the doors being thrown open, it gave a free and lively circulation to the air, which is very reviving in this climate.

After sitting a little time in the parlour, a circumstance occurred which I think I shall not soon forget. We entered into general conversation, after which a silent pause ensued; and as I sat musing on the prospect of my voyage home, with some little anxiety respecting the perils of it, a friend of Philadelphia, who sometimes appears in the ministry, broke the silence that prevailed, by remarking that his mind had been occupied in the consideration of my voyage, and that for my encouragement he might say, he had a belief that I should be favoured to arrive safe in my native land, in two months from that time. No observation was now made on this intimation, but, on reaching my lodgings, I wrote to my wife informing her of the circumstance, and that I trusted the friend would prove a true prophet. My letter reached her hands two or three weeks previously to my landing.

After spending the morning as above related, most of us attended a public meeting at Germantown, about six or seven miles distant, and being requested by T. F. I accompanied him with several other friends to his country house, which he

calls Wakefield. There we dined in a room on a level with the cellar, which I found very pleasant, the weather being very warm, and the situation admitting plenty of light. A dining-room so situated, is a great privilege at this season of the year, in a climate like this.

After spending a pleasant hour or two here I came to Philadelphia, where I found letters from my wife of as late a date as towards the end of the 5th month. In riding along the street, I passed by J. G.'s house, and his wife, a native of Lancaster, kindly inviting me to take tea, I spent a little time with them, and in the evening returned to my lodgings at Merion.

In recurring to the intimation respecting the time of my return to England, there are several circumstances attending it, which I think are worthy of remembrance, though they are a little out of the regular course of my narrative. It has been already mentioned, that it was my full intention to sail in the John Morgan, but that I was disappointed by the owners making an alteration in the time for her departure. After this T. W. and I had concluded to sail for Greenock, in the Frances, she being a fine, new vessel with good accommodation; but in this design I was again disappointed, the ship sailing before I could be quite ready. In her passage she encountered a violent

storm, which nearly reduced her to a wreck; and such were the difficulties the ship's company had to encounter, that several of the passengers and seamen lost their lives. Notwithstanding I was favoured to escape these imminent perils, there was considerable probability of my not reaching England by the time mentioned; as I still remained at New-York, when it wanted only about four weeks to the completion of that period; and after we got on board, we were detained on the American coast nearly two weeks, by calms and light winds. Yet we crossed the Atlantic ocean from thence in the short period of 9 days. On the 10th day, and 23d of our voyage, we made soundings off Cape-Clear, and on the 26th day landed safely at Liverpool, where I was affectionately received by my near relations in that town, within the time which the friend had predicted I should return. I forbear making any farther comments on these circumstances. But in the course of the events I felt in my heart the sentiment of humble thankfulness to the great Preserver of Men.

8th Month, 11th. I spent this day at J. H.'s in company with M. E. from Elklands. She was then on a visit to her father, who had been seized with a paralytic affection, which had entirely deprived him of the use of speech; yet I have seldom seen a man preserved in such innocent cheerfulness as he was. It is wonderful to observe what

a degree of happiness the mind is capable of enjoying, under privations like these, when it has been preserved in a good degree of innocency.

8th Month, 13th. A friend in the neighbourhood gave me an account of an acquaintance of his, a native of Ireland, but who now resides near Lancaster, in the State of Pennsylvania, which I think worth preserving. This person left Ireland when he was nearly 16 years old, and his whole property when he landed amounted only to about 12 guineas. He has now established extensive iron works where he resides, in which he employs upwards of 50 waggon teams; and the profits of which, last year, amounted to twenty-five thousand pounds. What makes it the more remarkable is, that two persons possessing a large capital had been ruined some time before, in an attempt to establish the same concern.

8th Month, 14th. In walking out this evening, I met with two German families on their way to the Ohio. On entering into conversation with them, they informed me, that they were yet 500 miles distant from the place of their destination. They were a company of fine, healthy looking people, and travelled along with apparent chearfulness. The older females and the little ones were upon beds in their covered waggons, whilst the

young women, with their husbands, fathers, and brothers went on foot. Parties of this sort I have often seen travelling along, in the old Patriarchal stile, seeking a country where they hoped to meet with more tranquillity and repose, than they had witnessed in the old principalities of Germany.

Considering the stability and industry, which so eminently characterize most of the German emigrants, I am inclined to believe that things must be very much out of order, in their native land, before men like them, would come to the resolution of taking a final farewell of their near connexions and friends; with the perils and inconveniencies of so long a voyage before them.

8th Month, 17th. I paid a visit to our neighbour Doctor H. After tea we called upon a family of the name of Crow, where I saw a little establishment just as it stood in the first settlement of the country. It consisted of a small workshop, containing a set of tools proper for blacksmiths and carpenters, which, at that period, must have been an almost invaluable appendage to a farmhouse. The Doctor complained to us that he had lately lost nearly the whole of his ducks and geese; which had been devoured by a large species of tortoise. This animal creeping on the bottom of the pond, seizes the unsuspecting fowls by the feet, and dragging them under water, eats them

at its leisure. The Doctor had a respectable establishment for the education of his children; having an extensive library, with a pair of large globes, and an amiable young woman from England as tutoress, who was well qualified for her office, his children being mostly girls.

8th Month, 18th. I went over to Philadelphia; and having had several pressing invitations from Doctor G. who had been a fellow-student with my brother William at Edinburgh, I dined with him. The Doctor is one amongst the few of that profession, who retain their integrity by continuing to be consistent members of our society; and he is a very useful member of the monthly meeting to which he belongs. In the afternoon I spent a little time at John Elliott's and Samuel Fisher's; and took my farewell of them all, with sentiments of esteem, and of gratitude for the many instances of their kind attentions to me. While in this city, I received letters from my wife and family down to the 6th Month 16th, with satisfactory accounts of their welfare.

8th Month, 20th. O. J. having kindly offered me a seat in his carriage, I accompanied him to the annual general meeting in the Valley; at which a great number of friends and others attended; indeed, a great many more than the house, though large, was able to contain.

After meeting, we accepted an invitation from J. C. and dined at his house, where we sat down to table with him and his wife, their aged father and mother, ten daughters, and one son; being a fair sample of an American farmer's family. I was informed that his neighbour D. G. a respectable farmer, with whom I have often been in company, has ten sons and one daughter.

Considering the accounts I had read, of the homely fare and accommodations of the planters in America, I was struck with the number and elegance of the carriages we saw on the road, in going from meeting to the house where we dined; part of the way lying through the forest, and some part through a country in a high state of cultivation, the prospects were beautifully diversified.

In our way home, we took tea at the proprietor's of an extensive marble quarry, who kindly conducted us into it; where we had an opportunity of seeing the people at work, in separating large blocks from the solid rock. This vein of marble, which appeared to be from 15 to 20 yards in width, runs in the direction of south-east, and north-west, through a stratum of limestone, a few feet below the surface of the ground; and it has the appearance of there having been a cleft in the limestone rock, into which the marble had been poured in a liquid state. Col. H. at

whose house we were generously entertained, and who is owner of the quarry, informed us that he had sold thirteen thousand cubic feet from it in one year, at 4s. 6d. per foot. The weather being fine, and our little party consisting of several agreeable men and women friends, the day was spent very pleasantly.

8th Month, 22d. A. B. a friend from England, paid me a visit, having some prospect of taking a farm in this neighbourhood. His predecessors for several generations, had lived upon a farm on Delamere Forest in Cheshire; but the steward to the present proprietor, having turned him off the farm, he, with his widowed mother, and several sisters and a brother, had lately come over to America, with the view of taking and managing a cheese farm, upon the Cheshire plan.

8th Month, 23d. I accompanied A. B. to G. A.'s, in order to have some conversation with him respecting a farm he had to let, and to view it. This farm was in a good state of cultivation, with an excellent house, a very large barn, and stabling for many horses, with other conveniences on an extensive scale. The spring house, or dairy, in particular, struck my attention, having a trench of spring water, about 2 feet wide and 4 or 5 inches deep, running all round the room, paved at the bottom, and inclosed at the sides with slabs of white marble.

I have before observed, that in the spring water which surrounds the floor of the dairies in this country, are placed the vessels which contain the milk, &c. and all is thus preserved sweet and cool, in the hottest part of the summer. Another conveniency I noticed in this farm-yard, was an appendage to the hog-sty, being a vault, near which was a stream of water, all within the inclosure wherein the hogs were confined. The advantages and comfort thus resulting to these animals, in hot weather, must be obvious. On this farm, was also an excellent orchard of several acres, the trees of which were at this time in their prime, and now in full bearing, and having been planted by the late Governor Mifflin, whose residence was here, they were well selected. Such abundance of fine fruit I never before beheld, in the same compass of ground; two or three of the best trees were literally broken down with the weight of the fruit. The rent G. A. proposed for this farm, with all these appendages, was about 20s. per acre; and, the quantity being short of 100 acres, the rent would amount to little more than legal interest for the money which had been expended in buildings. As it was not more than an hour's ride from Philadelphia, and the land of good quality, I thought the price very reasonable.

8th Month, 24th. I attended Merion meeting in the forenoon; and in the afternoon visited and

drank tea with John Parish, in company with B. J. Most of the afternoon we sat in the piazza in front of the house, at Woodside, where we had a fine view of Philadelphia, the Jerseys, and the intervening country. We were much entertained with the little Humming Birds, flying about the flowers near our seats.

8th Month, 27th. My business requiring that I should see a person who was at the Yellow Springs, I this day took a ride thither. At the inn where I breakfasted, which was the General Paoli Tavern, I met with a family who had landed a few days before in Philadelphia, and were now on their way to the Ohio. As they spoke neither English nor French, I was unable to make out from what part of the continent of Europe they came; but, from their dress, I supposed from Switzerland. The men wore a plain jacket and trowsers, with very large shallow crowned hats; and the women had their hair plaited in long braids, which hung down their backs, with jackets and petticoats just the reverse of the fashions of the present day. Altogether they had the appearance of a stout, hardy race, and, in this company, I understood there were four generations. The master of the inn informed me that he had reason to believe they had a very large property with them, in the waggons in which they travelled. On my arrival at the Yellow Springs, I bathed and drank the waters,

which are I believe, a chalybeate. In the evening I returned to Merion, where I lodged, but was kept awake for a while in reflecting on the wide wasting effects of war, probably in consequence of meeting with the family of strangers at the Paoli Tavern. That spot was rendered famous by the destruction, as is said, of some hundred Americans, who lay encamped there, and were surprized in the dead of the night by a detachment of the English army, and put to the sword. The consequence of which was, I have been informed, that a party of English met with the same fate in a similar way, from the swords of the Americans, on the Banks of Hudson River. In addition to that event, I understood, from the master of the inn, that the family of strangers I had mentioned, all of whom appeared to be persons of respectability, had been compelled to seek shelter in a foreign land, to avoid the scourge of the sword, which had recently overwhelmed their country.

How little do the potentates of the world and their ministers, calculate on the miseries they produce. And ah! how little do they consider what responsibility, in the nature of things, they must inevitably entail upon themselves in a future state of being.

8th Month, 28*th*, was spent in Philadelphia, where I dined with T. S. and paid a farewell visit

to his family, whose kindness and hospitality I have frequently experienced.

8th Month, 29th. The afternoon of this day was agreeably spent in the company of O. J. his mother, and sisters, at their country residence; and, after passing a pleasant evening in their society, I took my final farewell of them, with sentiments of gratitude for their attention and hospitality to me, who was a stranger amongst them.

8th Month, 30th and 31st, were employed in taking leave of a number of friends in the neighbourhood of Merion, to whom I feel under great obligation, for their kindness and attention to me, during my residence in this quarter. The afternoon of the latter day I drank tea at R. J.'s, in company with him and several other friends. In the evening we took, in all probability, a final farewell of each other, with many expressions of affection on their part, which were equally felt on my own; having contracted a sincere regard for the little company of friends resident at Merion.

9th Month, 1st. This morning I left Merion on my way to New-York, in order to take my passage for England, being accompanied by A. B. In my way I passed through Philadelphia, but being limited for time, I had opportunity of calling

upon only a few friends; some of whom kindly attended me to the Burlington packet, which lay at Arch-street wharf. I. and J. P. two generous hearted young men, remained with me until we put off into the Delaware, and spread our sails to the wind, which in about one hour and a half wafted us safe to Burlington; a distance of near 20 miles. Here I called upon G. and S. D. J. H. and several other friends, who felt dear to me in the prospect of parting with them, perhaps never to see them more in this state of being. After taking an affectionate farewell of them, A. B. and myself set out in the stage for Amboy, and passed through Crosswicks. Here friends have a large well-built meeting-house, with a school and other conveniences on a large scale. We lodged that night at Cranbury. One of our companions in the stage, was a person of the name of Reckless, who informed me that he was a descendant of the Sheriff of that name, formerly of Nottingham, and mentioned by George Fox in his Journal. This family have increased in number and consequence since coming into America, and have founded a town which bears their name.

9th Month, 2d. We came safe to Amboy, and, about two o'clock in the afternoon, set sail for New-York; yet, having but little wind, we did not reach the Narrows till after dark. The wind beginning to blow very strong, the Captain of the

Packet thought it unsafe to attempt passing them; he therefore put the ship about, with an intention to run into Princes Bay, and there lie at anchor till next morning, being a distance of near 20 miles. As we were running before the wind, at the rate of 6 miles an hour, in the dead of the night, with a very rough sea, the vessel suddenly struck against something which immediately stopped her progress; and she swung round with great violence and noise. At the first alarm I ran upon deck, when I found that our vessel had run foul of another, which was lying at anchor; and our bowsprit was entangled in the rigging of the other ship. This so broke the force of the shock, that we sustained but little damage, and in a short time got clear of each other. We had great cause to be thankful for so signal a preservation, many vessels having been lost, with the people in them, when in much less apparent danger than we were on this occasion.

9th Month, 3d. After lying at anchor several hours, at day-light we again made sail for New-York, where we were met by some of our friends at the wharf, and I again took up my quarters at my kind friend S. P.'s.

9th Month, 5th. Yesterday I called upon several of my friends to take leave of them, and this day, accompanied by J. W. and T. W. I went on board the Oliver Elsworth, with a view of taking

my passage for Liverpool; and being satisfied, both with the Captain and the ship, I concluded to go in her, and paid my passage accordingly. In the afternoon, J. M. having kindly offered me a seat in his carriage, I rode with him to his country house, and was generously entertained under his hospitable roof.

9th Month, 6th. This morning I went out with J. M. to attend upon a black man, who had come from New-York, to treat for the purchase of a chaise which J. M. wished to sell, having lately purchased a new one upon a different construction. In conversation, I gathered a little of the history of this black man, who, by his industry and management, had acquired a considerable freehold property in houses in the city, and could now, with propriety, indulge his family with the conveniency of a chaise.

A few years past he was in very low circumstances, but coming under the notice of J. M. who has been, I believe, amongst the foremost in befriending the poor blacks, he was put forward and assisted in business, and with so much success, that he is now become a very respectable tradesman. Indeed he ranks much higher than many of those, who have so strenuously contended that the poor blacks are little or nothing removed from the brute creation; and that they may be bought, sold, and degraded, as having neither the feelings nor faculties of men. So erroneous is this idea,

that I have met with slave merchants, who were far inferior to this black person, in the faculties of the mind.

After a pleasant morning thus spent at J. M.'s, he brought me to New-York, and shewed me through the cellars of his extensive brewery in that city. The remaining part of the day, was spent in preparations for my voyage to England.

9th Month, 7th. This morning I attended New-York meeting, and afterwards dined at my cousin B. B.'s; and drank tea and spent the evening with some other of my friends.

The afternoon meeting was disturbed this day, by a singular character, who, I understood, was often very troublesome. After the meeting had sat some time in silence, he got up, and, with a loud voice and violent gesticulation, declared that he came there that day, in order to bear his solemn testimony against silent meetings.

9th Month, 8th. This day was mostly employed in packing up my luggage, and putting it on board the ship.

9th Month, 9th. This morning, between six and seven o'clock, I went on board the Oliver Elsworth, attended by several friends of New-York, who kindly accompanied us, and remained until the ship weighed anchor about eight o'clock. I

then took a final farewell of " this delightful land," in which, although I have met with many things to try my faith and patience, I have nevertheless met with kind-hearted, affectionate friends; many of whom feel nearer and dearer to me than I have language to express; and whose kindness and hospitality, I trust, will never be effaced from my memory.

Although a voyage to America may be considered as a laborious and perilous undertaking, yet I have thought myself well repaid, in the pleasing event of many amiable and worthy friends having thereby been added to the list of my acquaintance; whom, in all probability, I should otherwise never have known; and who, as to myself, would have been as though they had never been.

As the loss of friends by death or otherwise, may be considered as one of the severest of privations to a sensible mind; so, on the other hand, any addition to the number may be truly considered as one of the most valuable acquisitions. Yet such are our various propensities, that many, no doubt, look upon the satisfaction arising from sources of this kind, as little better than the phantoms of the imagination; and not to be compared with the pleasures arising from wealth or worldly honours.

Having weighed anchor, and got all sails spread, we glided gently along, having but little

wind. The weather being fine and clear, we had a beautiful autumnal prospect of the country around us, all the way down to Sandyhook; and there being no sickness among the passengers, we enjoyed the scene. Our company consisted of a remarkable diversity as to the countries whence they came. One came from Delhi in Persia; two were Hindoos, a man and woman; one came from Berbice in South America; one from Jamaica; one from Ireland; one from Scotland; four from England; and one was a military officer from Bengal. Besides these, the Captain and Mate of the ship were North Americans, and the ship's Steward was a native of Germany.

Notwithstanding this great national variety, in our cabin's company, and a great diversity in religious profession, yet considerable harmony prevailed; which in a great measure arose from the constitution of our little republic, the government of which was formed, at the request of the Captain, in the outset of the voyage. The plan adopted was to divide the company in the cabin, into three committees, who took the government into their hands by turns; each having the direction of affairs for a certain number of days in rotation; during which the Steward and Cook applied to the acting committee for instructions, in all affairs relative to eating and drinking; these being matters in which the judgment of passengers is very

likely to differ; especially when consisting of natives of so many different parts of the world. The Captain foreseeing this, had wisely proposed to us this mode of arrangement, and thus removed all responsibility from himself, whilst it left him more fully at liberty to manage the ship.

A little before we left New-York, there had been some very boisterous weather, the effects of which we had an opportunity of noticing, as we passed by Sandyhook; where we saw several vessels which had suffered severely. One in particular had lost all her masts, and was endeavouring to make her way to New-York, by means of a little canvas spread upon some temporary poles, which they had set up. Another had her top-mast broken off, and still hanging by the rigging; however the weather was then clear and calm, and for several days no sickness appeared amongst us. For twelve days we made but very slow progress; but on the thirteenth day we got upon the Banks of Newfoundland, where the vessel was stopped a few hours, during which we took some fish; after which we hoisted our sails and cleared the Banks early the next day.

A little before we reached the Banks, the weather being very fine and calm, we discovered a sail to the eastward, which, like ourselves, made but very little progress; yet, in the course of the fore-

noon, we came within five or six miles of each other, when the wind nearly died away, and the sea became as smooth as a fish-pond. As the ship in sight was deemed likely to be coming from England, some of our people had a great desire to get along-side of her, in order to inquire what news she brought. The boat was in consequence let down into the sea, and the mate and several passengers got in and rowed away, until they had an opportunity of getting on board; when they found that she was a ship bound to Philadelphia from Rotterdam.

After leaving this vessel, a young man from Manchester having a desire to bathe in the sea, all being smooth and calm, stripped himself for that purpose. The Captain of the Philadelphia ship observing this, took his speaking trumpet, and warned him against going into the sea; as they had observed a large shark hovering about them all the morning; but the young man supposing he was only in jest, paid no regard to him, and leaped into the sea, where he swam about a little time, and then got safely into the boat again. However, on the boat's approaching our vessel, the shark was discovered in company with her, watching for his prey, and he continued hovering round our ship for some time. Looking at all the circumstances of the case, it may be considered a singular and wonderful preservation, that this

young man was not devoured; for had he continued one minute longer in the water, in all probility he would have been destroyed. By this little excursion of the boat, I saw the extreme folly and danger of leaving a ship at sea, even in the finest weather; except in cases of absolute necessity; for this boat had not got above half way to the other ship, when a squall came on with a thick haze, by which we lost sight of them, and they of us. Had this state of the weather continued but for a few hours, they, in all likelihood, would have been lost. When this alteration in the weather took place, and the boat disappeared, I confess I was extremely alarmed; although, on the company's leaving the ship, I gave one of them a small pocket compass, fearing that by some accident, they might be separated from us. On my expressing my fears to the Captain, he said that he scarcely knew a boat leave the ship in a calm like this, but a squall of wind came on.

On the 14th day of our voyage, being the 23d of the 9th month, after taking soundings on the Banks, the wind freshened, and being in our favour, we sailed about 220 miles, and on the 15th day, the wind still increasing, we sailed about 230 miles in our direct course. On the evening, between seven and eight o'clock, we descried a ship going right before the wind, like ourselves, with all sails set; and by ten o'clock, being about two hours and a

half, we came up with her, and passing close by, we found her to be the British Packet from Halifax. In passing, we observed the men were all at their guns, with lighted matches, supposing our ship was an enemy in pursuit of them. We soon lost sight of them, our vessel being much the better sailer.

On the 16th day we sailed near 220 miles, and on the 17th day about 140 miles; on the 18th about 220 miles; on the 19th about 120 miles; and on the 20th day about 240 miles. Sailing in this rapid manner, the motion of the ship through the waves caused a foam as white as milk; a long train of which might be seen to a great distance behind the vessel; and the hissing noise the ship produced, excited the idea of a huge mass of red hot iron, passing through the water. On the 21st day of our voyage, we sailed about 120 miles; on the 22d day about 120, and on the 23d about 250; and this day we made soundings off Cape Clear. Thus, from the 14th to the 23d, being the space of 9 days, we sailed from soundings to soundings on the two sides of the Atlantic Ocean; a very short space of time, to traverse so vast a sea. On the 24th day we entered the Channel, and early in the morning passed in sight of Waterford Light-house. In the course of the day we also passed the Tusco Rocks, having sailed nearly 120 miles.

On the 25th day, about midnight, we came close in with the point of Holyhead; and, about one in the morning, came in sight of the Skerries Light-house. This was the last night we were out at sea, and to me it appeared by far the most dangerous; for the wind being very high, and the tide running very strong along this rocky coast, made so much noise, that the seamen were unable to hear the Captain give his commands; and being close in with the Isle of Anglesea, we appeared to be completely land-locked.

As I stood by the Captain, he requested me to reach the speaking trumpet, which was the only time he had occasion to make use of it for this purpose during the voyage. All was agitation and bustle for a time; the loud roaring of the winds and waves was such, that, even aided by the speaking trumpet, it was with difficulty the Captain could make himself heard by the poor seamen, who were aloft in the rigging, using every exertion to keep the ship from driving upon the rocks; with the wind blowing right upon them.

I had now crossed the Atlantic four times, but had not before heard so loud an uproar of winds and waves as at this period; which, I suppose, was in part owing to the tide at this time running out with violence round the point of Holyhead, and adding to the loud howling of the winds in the

neighbouring mountains, which then appeared nearly to surround us. These were to me the most awful moments, I had experienced, in all my travels, and, by those who know any thing of the coast, our situation may be more easily conceived than I can describe it. As the ship was thus with difficulty working her way through the discordant elements, every moment in danger of striking upon the rocks, we happily came in sight of the Skerries Lights, which removed all our fears. To be relieved from a situation of such great anxiety and danger, was indeed cause of thankfulness, and I trust will not soon be forgotten.

Although there were neither moon nor stars visible, yet the bleak mountains around us were distinctly seen, and at times did not appear to be more than a stone's cast from the ship; but this appearance was in all probability deceptive, as it was scarcely possible we could have escaped shipwreck, had we really been so near the rocks.

Immediately after coming in sight of the Lights, a signal gun was fired from our ship; and in a few minutes a pilot-boat came alongside us, and we took a Pilot on board. The wind about this time subsiding, we gently made our way up the Channel; and early in the morning, cast anchor off the Cheshire coast, where we remained till day-light of the 20th day of our voyage, being the 5th of the

10th Month. On arising and going upon deck, I found we were surrounded by a fleet of near 20 sail of ships, several of them, like ourselves, being from America, and all waiting the return of the tide.

The morning being warm and fine, after so tempestuous a night, we enjoyed the prospect around us; and, about eleven o'clock, we and the rest of the vessels in company, weighed anchor. Having but little wind, most of our sails were spread to it, and we gently made our way to the Mersey. In this interval, our cabin company all sat down to dinner together. Notwithstanding we were so diversified, both with respect to country and to habits, and manners; yet, having been so closely confined within the narrow limits of the ship; daily eating and drinking together, and being sharers in every danger, an attachment was produced, so that I could not avoid feeling a sensation of seriousness in the reflection, that this was, in all likelihood, the last time we should meet together again in this world.

I have sometimes thought it a little remarkable, that of all the variety of people we had on board, if I except a near relation, I received more kindness and attention from the poor Hindoo man, though he was in the station of a servant, than from any other person. Although he did not

bear the name of a Christian, yet in Christian virtues he far excelled many who bear the name; and I sometimes was ready to wish I could have entered into his thoughts when he heard, as was sometimes the case, some of our Christian passengers, advocating the justice and propriety of Negro slavery. He himself was of a darker hue than many slaves.

On my leaving the ship, there were divers articles which it was not necessary should pass the Custom-house; and which I wished to take with me to my relation's in Liverpool. On getting these matters together, and being about to have them taken away, with the permission of the officer on board, I was surprised at this kind Hindoo stepping forward, and insisting upon taking them to my quarters in the town, where he delivered them safely at the house of my relation, a distance of more than a mile from the ship, without accepting any other reward, than the satisfaction of doing a kind office to one he believed to be his friend. The articles he took, were mostly natural curiosities, with some specimens of Indian ingenuity; and I was entertained, with the interest which seemed to be excited in the people who stood gazing at this friendly Indian, as he traversed the streets with his burden; both himself and his load being equally objects of attention to the curious.

It is ever a matter of deep regret to see men, who profess to be believers in the Gospel of Christ; and who have had the privilege of reading it, and judging of its excellence, debasing themselves by the practice of every mean and sordid vice, allowed by the selfish policy of the world: on the other hand, it is exceedingly pleasing to behold those, whom, because they have not had the same privileges, we are ready to designate by the names of Heathens and Infidels; but who, by regarding the law in themselves, become examples of many excellent Christian virtues: Thus manifesting that God is no respecter of persons.

Being favoured once more to set foot on my native land, for which I have great cause to be thankful, J. W. and myself walked up to my relation's at Mile-end, where we met with a hospitable and affectionate reception.

After spending this night and the fore part of the following day with them, we set out in the long coach for Manchester. In observing the extreme oppression exercised upon the poor horses, in these heavy carriages, I found a great drawback from the pleasure which otherwise would have been derived from travelling by land.

We got safe to Manchester the same evening, where we lodged; and early the next morning, we

again took coach, and set off for Sheffield, where we were favoured to arrive safe and well in the evening; and I had the heartfelt satisfaction of once more joining my family and friends, after an absence of more than two years.

In this period I had travelled upwards of ten thousand miles, without meeting with any unpleasant accident. When I consider that in this space I twice crossed the Atlantic Ocean, and that sometimes my way lay through the uncleared forests of America, where I often met with various tribes of what are called Savage Indians, I want language to express the feelings of gratitude which often arise in my breast, for my numerous preservations and unmerited favours.

FINIS.

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